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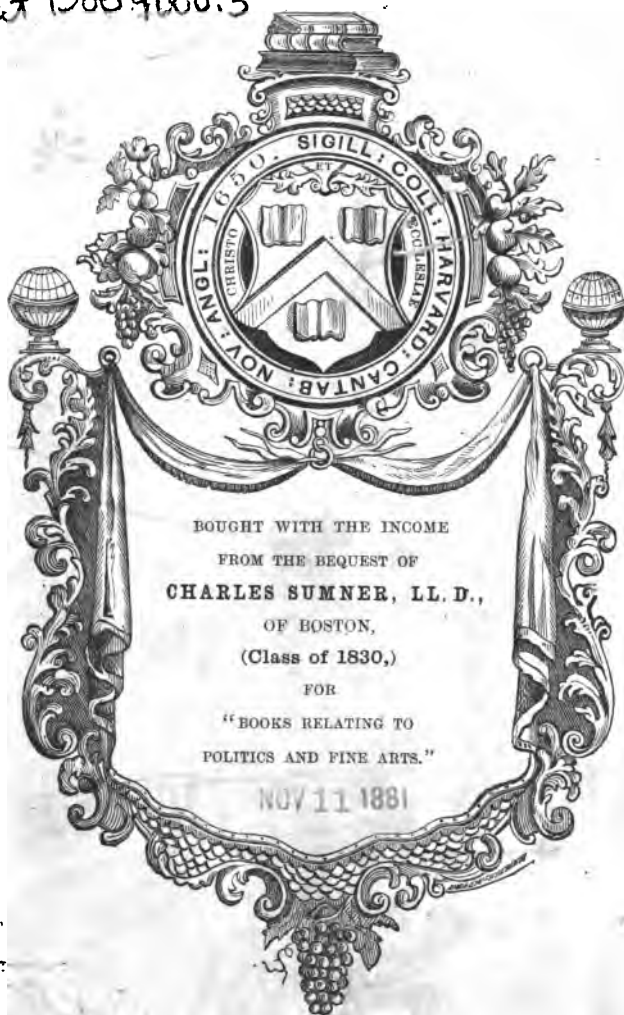
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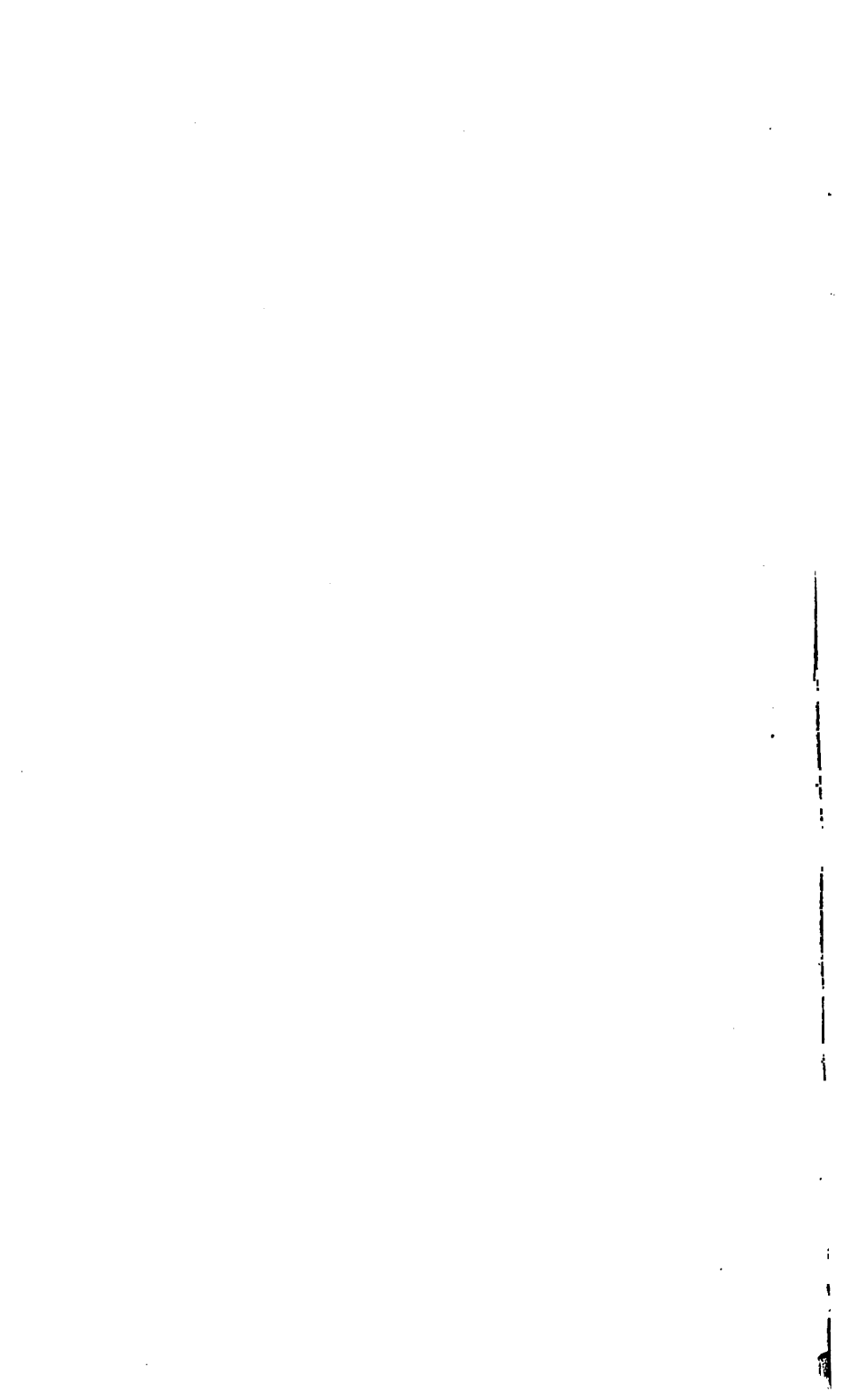
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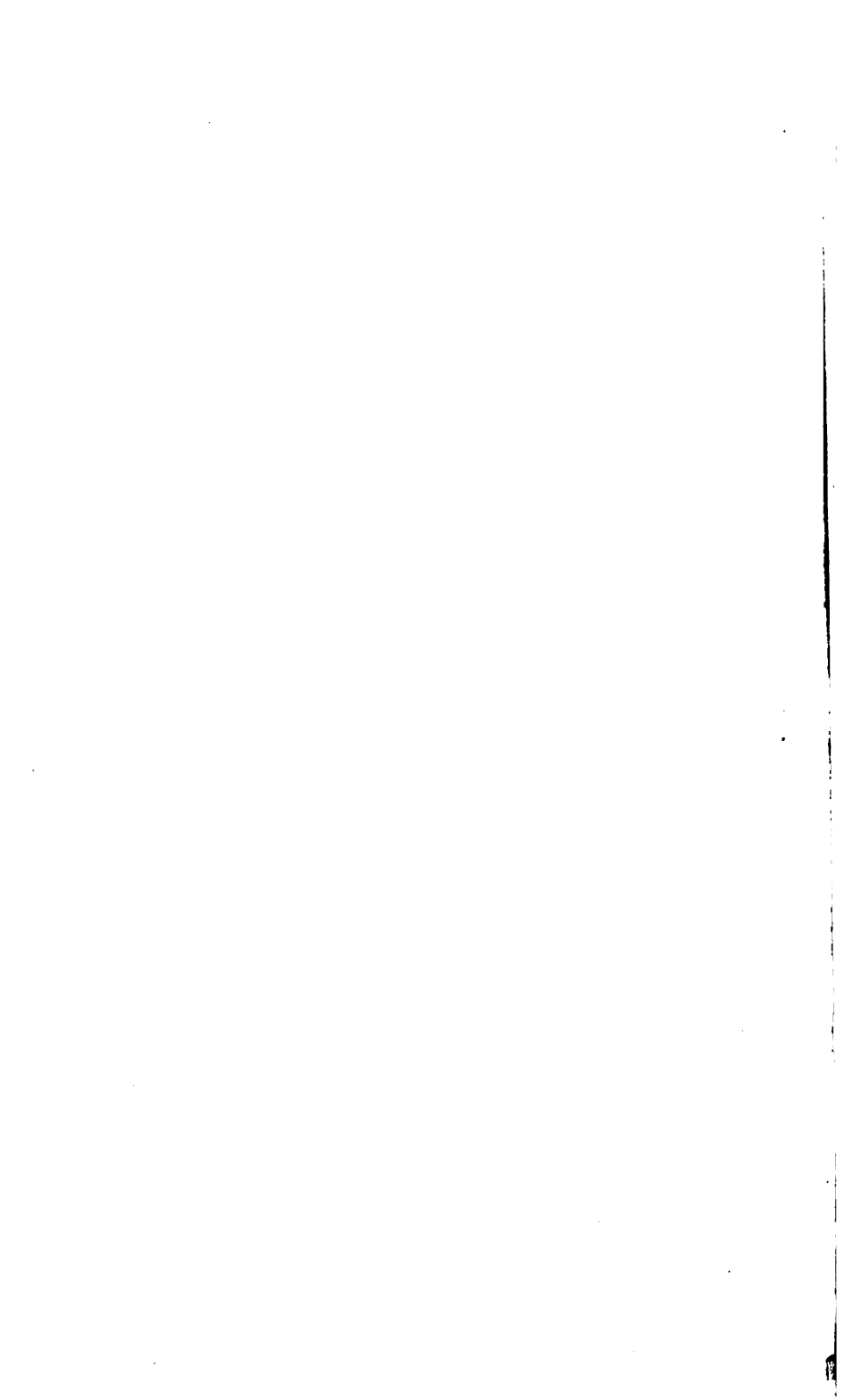
















COBBETT'S
WEEKLY REGISTER.

.....
VOLUME LXII.

FROM APRIL TO JUNE, 1827.
.....

LONDON:

Printed and Published by W. COBBETT, No. 183, Fleet-street.

1827.

Brit. Hist.

NOV 11 1881

Brit. Dec 9000.3 Summer's Land.

Brit 1203 CONTENTS OF VOLUME LXII.

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“ The question upon which we are at issue involves considerations of most tremendous importance; and the decision of it must take place at no very distant day. Therefore, though my opinions respecting it stand already, over and over again, recorded in terms the most positive as to meaning, and the most distinct as to expression, I am anxious, from a sense of duty towards my country as well as from a love of honest fame, to put them once more into print. If events should prove that *I am in error*, as to this weighty matter, justice towards those whom I may have misled *demands that I put into their hands the power of detection*; and, if events should prove that I am correct, *justice towards myself demands that I put beyond all dispute my claim to that public confidence which may serve as some compensation for all the persecution which I may have suffered, chiefly for having promulgated these very opinions which I am now about to re-assert.*”—LETTER TO TIERNEY, WRITTEN THE 1ST JULY, 1818, AND PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND ON THE 12TH SEPTEMBER OF THAT YEAR.

TO MR. TIERNEY.

ON THE APPROACHING DEATH OF THE SYSTEM.

Kensington, 28th March, 1827.

SIR,

PLEASE to look well at the motto which I have inserted above. If you have leisure, please to look at the date as well as at the words of this motto. In the month of May preceding the date of the motto, a bill had been brought in to continue the Bank restriction for another year. You had made a speech, in which you had called upon the House of

Commons to adopt effectual measures for returning to cash payments at the Bank. You had given it as your opinion that such return, though it might produce “ *some mischief* ” for a while, was, nevertheless, perfectly practicable, and that, if the return were “ *gentle and gradual*,” the mischief would not be great; that it would, at any rate, be but of short duration; and that, if such return did not take place, a dread-

A

ful convulsion would be the end of the paper system.

The broadsheet, containing the report of your speech, reached me in that retreat, which had happily preserved me from a dungeon such as that of OGDEN and JOHN KNIGHT, and of poor RILEY, who, never having been confronted with his accuser, never having any thing but bare suspicion alleged against him, unable to bear the torments of his dungeon, to which he had been committed by the warrant of SIDMOUTH, put an end to his existence. I, more fortunate than these unhappy sufferers, was living happily and jovially, laughing at your troubles, when your speech above-mentioned reached me in the base and infamous COURIER newspaper. I had, a thousand times before, exposed the shallowness of the opinions contained in that speech, but, I thought this a pretty fair opportunity of repeating these my exposures. I thought it right to put my opinions once more upon record; and that, for the purposes mentioned in the motto. I knew well that the time would come when the wisdom of my opinions and the folly of yours would be established by events; for, I also knew well, that those events were beyond the control of any human power.

After I have closed this letter, I will insert (for the third time) the whole of my letter to you, from which letter the above motto is taken. It was written and published eight years and a half ago. Since that time hundreds and thousands of English boys have become men. It is right that they should know, that there was one man, at any rate, who foresaw the

calamities which they and their parents have now to endure, and it is right that they should know also, that that man had been driven into exile, to save himself from the dungeon to which he was destined for having been the foremost, the very foremost, most active and most efficient in endeavouring to bring about that reform of the Parliament, which he had contended would prevent these calamities.

Whenever the Ministry, or the Parliament, or both, shall plead GOOD INTENTION, in having adopted "PEEL'S BILL," which provided for cash payments which you so strongly recommended; whenever either or both shall plead GOOD INTENTION in this case; whenever they shall plead UNFORESEEN EFFECTS, as proceeding from this measure, whenever they shall put forward these pleas, here is the nation's answer to them: "You adopted your fatal measure in JULY 1819; and, here, in the letter of our countryman, written in America in JULY 1818, and published in England in September 1818; here, in this his letter to Tierney, are described, fully described, all the mischiefs which have arisen from this terrible measure; and, therefore, good intention and unforeseen effects cannot plead you a justification or excuse. It is curious enough, Sir, that, in the letter to you, which I shall re-insert by-and-by, I exhorted you to read what I had already written upon the subject. "Never mind its cheapness," said I, "the blaud-kotteers have all read it. Why should not you, one of the grave, reverend, noble, and right honourable privy council, be as

"wise as the blanketteers. If you had read, you could not have made this speech."

I observed then, and I repeat the observation now, that the reformers, even those of them who had not a second shirt upon their backs, understood the whole matter well, while there was not the smallest appearance of its being understood by any member of both Houses of Parliament. Much about the same is the case still, and my opinion is, that thus it will continue, till Noah shall go into the Ark; that is to say, till it will be much too late to endeavour to prevent that overwhelming desolation which this infernal system of funding and paper-money is naturally destined to produce.

When the bill had been actually passed in England, amidst those universal plaudits, that the ALLWISE-CANNING drew forth, when he congratulated the "collective wisdom" on the question having now been "set at rest for ever;" when this bill had been passed, and the news of it had reached me, who was still in my retreat from the dungeon; when this news had reached me, I hardly knew how to contain myself for exultation. "Now," said I, "the savage boroughmongers will meet with their match." After about eight and forty hours thinking of the matter; after riding round to the houses of three or four friends to laugh with them at the trap, which had been set by themselves, and into which our enemies had fallen: after this I began to write upon the subject; and, in the first article I wrote, I put the passage pledging myself to surrender my carcase to be burned upon a GRIDIRON, if

that bill ever went into full and complete effect. Hence the *gridiron*, now taken as my *crest*; and hence the fame which will long be attached to the name of that culinary instrument.

On the evening when CANNING brought forward the Corn project, I, who have a greater opinion of his heels than his head, was waiting to see him get out of his carriage at the entrance to the Parliament house, in order that, by seeing how he stood upon his pins, I might be able to judge of him as to other matters. I missed my man, who, it appears, out of pure modesty, I dare say, entered the House through some unostentatious channel. But, I saw you, Sir, and, whether you believe me sincere or not, I was very glad to see you look fresh and stout. You are an old antagonist of mine, and particularly upon this great subject, which is now about to be decided for good and all. I think we are both likely enough to see the system come to its close; and I do hope, that that close will be as complete; as much of a *finish*; as radical, and as lasting in its consequences, as it is possible for close to be.

This much, Sir, by way of preface to what I am about to offer you, on what I deem to be the approaching death of the system. There prevails at present, an universal belief, that some great and awful change is approaching. None but the most thoughtless of men, the most contemptible drivellers, or the wretched poltroons who are blinded by their fears, can possibly hope or believe, that the present state of things can long continue. Every where, except amongst the mere tax-eaters,

there is most acute suffering, either bodily or mental. Several millions of pounds sterling have actually been taken out of the pockets of the merchants and manufacturers of England, and put into the pockets of the merchants and manufacturers of the continent, by the *new edition* of PEEL's Bill, which came piping hot from the press of the "collective wisdom," in the *month of March last*. No nation ever suffered so much, in one year, from pestilence or from famine, as this nation has suffered during this last year from this *new and improved edition* of PEEL's Bill. This I assert most distinctly, and I defy any man to bring me an instance of equal suffering from pestilence or from famine. There have indeed been both pestilence and famine: these rage yet, and in a constantly increasing degree; but, besides these, there has been a mass, and there is still a mass, and a growing mass, too, of moral suffering, of mental agony, such as never was witnessed before in this world.

You will please to observe, that this horrible mischief has all been done in the face of *ample warning* of the consequences. I have nothing to do, but to *open my book*. If the nation were to call upon me for proof that these evils might have been foreseen and prevented; if the nation call upon me, for the grounds upon which I have blamed the measures of mischief; if thus called upon, I have only to open the Register, which affords me ten thousand proofs, that I foresaw, foretold every consequence, and that I pointed out the means which would have prevented the

evils. Will you say, that this was nothing to any of you? Will you ask, why you are to believe me? why you were to think me right and yourselves wrong? If you ask me for the *WHY* of this, I refer you to the event for an answer. If you tell me, that it is more by hit than it is by wit, that I am right, I answer, that the proof of the falsehood of this is, that I maintained my opinions by arguments, which not a man of you ever attempted to answer. It was not *assertion* that I called upon you to listen to: it was argument that I called upon you to listen to: it was proof that I called upon you to be convinced by: no attempt to answer has any one of you ever made, while no small portion of you have wantonly calumniated the man, who had tendered you the proof. There has been amongst you, apparently, a tacit, solemn convention to do every thing that you possibly could, to keep my opinions away from the ears of the public, and to prevent even my *name* from being mentioned. The various arts and tricks, that have been used for this purpose, that sort of involuntary and tacit agreement to keep me out of sight; these have been the talk of no small part of the whole nation. The meanness, the baseness, and something worse than baseness, indeed, that has, upon various occasions, been brought into play for this purpose, but especially the *MEANNESS*, the poor, pitiful, capon-like folly, of supposing that you could make the people not see, if I were the object to be looked at; this folly has been the subject of ridicule for years; and, there is not a man of sound sense and of

a just way of thinking; there is not one such man in this whole nation, who does not exult with me, when he beholds you embarrassed, bewildered, frightened out of your wits, and your knees knocking together at perceiving the awful workings of the system. "CORBETT IS RIGHT" is the cry of hundreds of thousands of just and sensible men; and, when the system shall finally be destroyed, and shall, by some great and glorious national effort, be hurled down into that hell from whence it sprang, the signal for the onset will be, "CORBETT'S RIGHT." Aye! my worthy representative of the *free and independent borough* of KNARESBORO', these words will live in print; this signal will be repeated by Englishmen, long and long after the present faculty of representative-making by the borough of KNARESBORO' shall be, if remembered at all, a subject for a ballad or a farce.

As for ME, no compassion whatever is due from me, towards any class of sufferers, except the labouring class and the class of inferior tradesmen and farmers. All the rest have been able to hear *my voice*. They have all had an opportunity of hearing, if they would, and availing themselves of it. Some of them have turned away from the sound of that voice; others have shut their ears against it; others have endeavoured to stifle it by lies and every species of malignity. So that, I should be unjust, as well as foolish and base, if I were to feel any compassion for them: I am not unjust, and I am not foolish and base; and, therefore, I feel no compassion for them. I de-

serve at their hands much greater praises than their tongues and pens are able to bestow. They have heaped their praises on speakers and writers, who have used all the means in their power, not only to counteract my efforts, but literally to destroy me, body as well as mind. I am a singular, and, perhaps, a sole instance of one man having been right all the way through, as to a matter on which the fate of the nation turned, while I have had the whole mass of power belonging to the state, the whole mass of influence proceeding from *sixty* millions annually of taxes, and eight millions annually of tithes, together with the influence of the enormous monopolies arising out of paper-money, all constantly employed in order to counteract, embarrass, distress, and ruin, that one man! This is notoriously true; the whole nation knows it to be true; and, therefore, from me no compassion is due to any class, or to any one person of any class, except those who, from the nature of their situation in life, could not possibly know any thing of me or of my labours. I have said it many times, and I now repeat it, that I verily believe that the present calamities and perils would have been prevented, if they could have been prevented without making the whole nation see, that the measures of prevention were MINE. Let any just man say, then, whether I ought to feel compassion for the sufferers, or to exult at their sufferings! Oh! no, let them have compassion from you, from CANNING, from BROUGHAM, from SCARLETT, from the LOAN JOBBERS, from HUSKISSON, and from all the supporters par-

ticularly of the power-of-imprisonment bill and of the Six-Acts. From me they will have no compassion: if they bewail their lot, I open my Register and point to the warning. That is my answer to them. My day of triumph is come, and if I do not triumph, and openly triumph, let me suffer even more than any of my enemies. The Gridiron is the distinctive sign of that triumph. It is made: it is painted: it only wants gilding; and, the colour of gold, and gold in appearance, *up it goes*, on the house whence the Register issues, the moment any law shall be passed to lower the interest of the debt, to alter the standard of gold, or again to make bank notes a legal tender. I had a full right to hoist it, when PEELE's bill was in part repealed in 1822; when a further repeal of it took place, by authorizing the Bank of England to issue one pound notes last year; but, I have reserved the real hoisting of this Gridiron for another *Bank restriction*, or for a *grand sweep* of the national debt; and one or the other of those we shall see at no distant day.

Every one *now* says, that *things cannot go on in their present way*. Some change, therefore, *all* men think necessary: some change, *all* men think inevitable: and, the only question seems to be, what is to be the kind and the degree of that change. A conversation in the House of Lords the other night, relative to the corn project, was quite sufficient to convince any reasonable man, that even those who ought best to understand the matter, are pretty nearly as much in the dark as ever; and that they have no notion at all, or, at best, but a very indistinct no-

tion, of the cause which is at work, and of the consequences that must follow. The DUKE of RICHMOND criticized the projects of free trade, and seemed to want to prevent the *importation of wool*. He said, in support of this his opinion or wish, that the farmers had two years' wool on hand. He said two or three years' wool; and that they *could not find a market for it*. LORD DARNLEY called for further protection for wool, and also said that the farmers had two years' wool on hand. The MARQUIS of SALISBURY said that the farmers had two years' wool on hand, which *was quite unsaleable*. The DUKE of BUCKINGHAM said, that there was two years' wool on hand, and "that he could not call that "a good market *where nothing was sold for two years*." This report can have hardly been incorrect in all these instances. But, what a strange state of things is this! Men enabled, farmers enabled, to keep their wool two years in hand; and, yet, complain of *their poverty*!

I agree with the DUKE of BUCKINGHAM, that that cannot be called a *good market* where nothing is sold for two years; but, why is nothing sold for two years? Because the makers of paper-money become, in fact, monopolizers of the wool, take the wool, in fact, into *pawn*, and thus keep it out of the market, in the hope, on the part of the farmer, that the market will rise. This is a species of *forestalling* which never entered into the minds of our ancient lawgivers; and it is a mode of carrying on farming, contrary to every sound principle upon which that calling has ever been heretofore conducted. During my "rural ride" of last fall, I

accidentally met, at a friend's house, a big farmer, who made the same complaint about the wool; said that he had two years' wool in hand, and that he could get nothing for it. He was a crusty sort of chap, pretty much inclined to be full as rude, or rather more rude than common prudence would permit him to be, to which general disposition was added, for the time being, what I should suppose was about a *two fifths of a drunk*, being sufficient to leave all the senses in pretty sharp play, and to take away enough of the discretion, to leave to the rudeness of the disposition its full swing. "And so," said I, "you can get no market at all for your wool!"

FARMER. "No."

COBBETT. That's very surprising. I never heard such a thing before in my life.

FARMER. Ah, cunning as you are, you have not heard every thing in the world yet.

COBBETT. I find so, indeed, for I never before heard that a man could not get *any thing at all* for his wool; and, if I had heard it I should not have believed it.

FARMER. What, then, I am a liar, I suppose: eh?

COBBETT. No: I don't say that you're a liar.

FARMER. But you must think me one, for you say that if you had heard what I have said, you would not have believed it.

COBBETT. Why, no, that is not calling you a liar; but, I repeat, that if any one had told me that he could get nothing at all for his wool, I should not have believed him; and I say further, that if you can get nothing at all for yours, you must be a singularly

unfortunate man; for I know that there is a market for wool in every town in England: and I know, that there is even a market in this very village for your wool.

FARMER. I say there is no market at all, and that you had better stay in London and mind your business than to come here and to meddle with ours.

COBBETT. But I have business with you and with your wool; and, to come to the point; to prove to you that you are wrong and I am right, I'll buy all your wool of you, and our friend here, I am sure, will lend me the money to pay for it at once.

FARMER (*Eyes brightening*). You shall ha't. There's my hand.

COBBETT (*Shaking hands*). Well, how much have you got?

FARMER. The wool of about two thousand sheep for two years.

COBBETT. That's right: the more the better: send it here to-morrow morning, and we'll weigh it.

FRIEND. Well, now you two have made a *deal*. The wool is bought and sold. So far so good, and I think I have got money enough in the house to pay for it; but, there is one thing you have not settled; and that is, the price.

FARMER. Oh! ah! what do you mean to give?

COBBETT. I'll give you a *penny a pound*.

FARMER. G—d d—n your blood! *I've been offered sevenpence!*

COBBETT. The devil you have! I thought you told me you could get nothing at all for it; and you were almost ready to knock me down, because I seemed to sup-

pose it possible that your statement was not quite correct.

FARMER (*In a great rage*). But do you think, then, that sevenpence a pound is *enough*!

COBBETT. Yes, I do, upon my word, *if that be the market price*.

FARMER. But how the Devil then do you think that I am to pay my rent, rates and taxes?

COBBETT. Ah! that's a matter for amicable adjustment between you and your landlord, and the various sorts of tax-gatherers. That's a matter quite above my cut. You said you could get nothing at all for your wool. I knew that I could get twopence or threepence a pound for it, and, of course, I could venture to offer you a penny.

By the side of every farm house fire in England, by the side of every market room fire, talk like that of this farmer is continually going on. We talk of the uncultivated state of the minds of savages. There are none of them so ignorant of their own affairs, of the causes of their happiness or their misery, as English farmers have now been made by the puzzling, by the bothering, by the cheating, by the shuffling, by the everlastingly deceiving system of paper-money. What a hellish system that must be, that can toss men's property up and down in this manner! A thing is worth *what it will bring in the market*. If it be kept over-year, it is kept to the detriment of the public or the detriment of the farmer; to the detriment of the consumer or the detriment of the grower. To the one or the other it must be injurious. One must buy the cloth dearer than he ought to have bought it, or the other must finally

sell the wool for less than he ought to have sold it. Generally speaking, the wool, while it is thus kept, is actually represented by bank notes. It is a pawn to the banker, to the wretched Rag-rook, who now and then visits the tods, to see that they are safe; and, finally, when the wool comes out for use, it comes loaded with the interest of the money which has been paid to the Rag-rook. Upon the *whole*; upon an average of transactions of this sort, the grower *can gain nothing* by keeping his wool; for, if all keep, *all must have to sell at last*; and at last the price must become lower, in consequence of the keeping, not to reckon the loss by inevitable waste, and not to reckon stowage. So that the farmers, as a whole, can gain nothing by this species of forestalling: first or last the whole of the wool must come out, or be destroyed by keeping; but, the Rag-rook *gains to a certainty*: he gets an interest on the value of the wool as long as it is kept; that interest is finally paid to the Rag-rook, partly by the farmer and partly by the consumer; and thus it is that the nation is oppressed by this band of monopolizers, who could not carry on their monopolies without the assistance of the paper-money.

As a question between these noble landlords and their tenants, the wool affair is settled by the above dialogue. There is a market; the wool can be sold; and the MARQUIS of SALISBURY seemed aware of this, for, when he said, "*the wool is quite unsaleable*," he slips out at the end of it, "*except at ruinous prices!*" Ah! there's the point! And why "*ruinous*," my LORD of SALIS-

BURY? Sevenpence a pound, I suppose, for South-Down wool; but why "*ruinous*," my Lord? You can tell me why in a minute if you will: you can tell me that these prices are ruinous because they disable the farmer from paying your rent, calculated on wool at fourteen pence a pound. And, my Lord, why, then, not lower your rents to the sevenpenny scale? You will tell me, that you cannot do that, while the taxes are at the fourteen penny scale. I then ask, with all submission, why you do not reduce you taxes to the sevenpenny scale? Because (you may tell me) there is a thundering army, there is a thundering dead weight, there are thundering places, pensions, sinecures, and grants, and a thundering debt! I dare not venture to ask your Lordship why you do not get rid of these; but I venture to assure you, that free trade, or no free trade, you will not see the price of wool rise much, *as long as the Bank of England shall pay in Gold of full weight and fineness!* The free trade fellows deserve to be laughed at, to be sure; but, it is the small note fellows, the PEELE's Bill fellows, the currency tinkers, who are aiming to pay off a depreciated paper in gold of full weight and fineness. These are the fellows, that alternately puff up and pull down the price of the South-Down fleece, and that swamp this class to-day and that class to-morrow.

And, Mr. TIERNEY, are not YOU one of, and one of the leaders of, these meddling, tampering, and mischievous tinkers? The very speech on which my Long-Island letter was a commentary, was an instance of your tinkering;

and, it ought always to be borne in mind, that PEELE's BILL, that the "MERIT" of that fatal bill, was CLAIMED BY YOU! It ought further to be borne in mind, that the wretched faction called "THE WHIGS;" that that *tail*, or, rather, the be-fouled tip of the tail of that nasty, old, corrupt, riot-act-making, septennial-act-making, bank - note - inventing, loan-jobber-making; that nasty, filthy, corrupt; that rotten-borough-upholding; that tip of the dirty tail of the villanous old confiscating and plundering Whig-faction: it ought always to be borne in mind, that it was this despicable *tail* that originated, and that was, in fact, the *real author* of PEELE's Bill, and of all the mischiefs which have proceeded from it. This is *bare justice*: it is hardly full justice; for, the despicable rump of faction was, for a whole year, bragging every day of its life, that it was *it*, which had caused the standard of value to be restored and re-established for ever! In like manner, this despicable rump boasted (and very truly) of being the real authors of the *free trade* project; and the great bleater of all of the dismal rump boasted, at a dinner which the fools at Edinburgh gave him, that it was *he* and his brother rump-ites, who had at last *forced* the ministers to adopt the free trade project, than which statement nothing was ever more true, though coming from the lips of a bawler of this despicable faction. Yes, "*cash payments*" and "*free trade*" are presents which the tip of the cow's dirty tail has made the nation a present of.

This faction, then, offers to the miserable nation, a mighty re-

source in wisdom and in talent. I hear that Brookes's gambling-house is now filled with self-denying feelosophers, who meet each other with looks of perfect resignation; who look up at the places of the government, not as the fox did at the grapes, because they were out of his reach, but as a fox would look at grapes which he could not get at without danger of having his nose chopped off. These *feelosophers*, by way of revenge for the compulsive long fasting which they have been obliged to undergo, do, I understand, pretend that "THEY WILL NOT NOW COME TO THE KING'S ASSISTANCE," but are resolved to leave him to shift for himself! Poor man! they will leave him to shift for himself, because (now mark) "he *deserted* them when he came into his full royal powers." I do not know that he did desert them; but if he did, God knows it was time; and it showed that his MAJESTY had too much sense, and too much integrity, when he came to man's estate, to stick to these fellows who had surrounded him in his youth. To be sure, there is no telling what is to become of the poor king now, if the septennial-bill-making faction should refuse "to come to his assistance!" If he should not have the "*assistance*" of those who invented PEEL'S BILL and "FREE TRADE," what the Devil is to become of the King! He would do well to resign his crown at once; for he never can keep it, to be sure, if this *precious* "*assistance*" continue to be refused him! What! none of them;—none of you come to his succour!

NOT MR. BROUGHAM, NOR LORD JOHN RUSSELL, NOR LAWYER SCARLETT, NOR SIR BOBBY; O Lord, what will the King do! Do! why he will resort to the washerwomen about WINDSOR and DATCHET, to be sure; for, nobody else on the face of this earth can effectually supply the deficiency.

This is a most miserable pretext. I do not know that the hungry cow's tail would not gladly jump at the places, even now, as things are; but, if they would not do it, it is, as I said last week, because they see the grain guarded by limed twigs; because they are afraid, *really afraid*, to dip into the mess of which they themselves have been the principal makers.

Let me be understood here, however; when I say that the tip of the cow's tail was the real cause of PEEL'S BILL, I do not mean to say, that the system could have lasted, if that Bill had not been passed. But, if the old grubbing dolts of the PITT and DUNDAS school had not been worried by the cow's tail tip, they would have *let the "THING" go on*; and, by about this time, we should have seen two prices in the market; a paper price, and a gold price. We should have seen the taxes paid in *paper*, and the butcher and baker paid in *gold*, or in paper *at about three for one*. The soldier's shilling or thirteen pence a day, would have been worth about fourpence farthing in real money; and your 1200*l.* a year, my dear old friend, would have been worth about 400*l.* a year in gold. The "*THING*" would have gone on, like the *Old Whack*, as they call it, in the State of MASSACHUSETT'S BAY,

of which it took, upon one particular occasion, which I have heard talk of, *nine hundred and seventy-two pounds* to pay for a single breakfast. The people, who had one sort of goods to exchange for another, would have been very well by this time; but the army, the dead-weight, the placemen, the pensioners, men, women and children, and all the tax-eaters, and all the fundholders, and all the annuitants of every description, would have been precisely like muscles and cockles; or rather, like the myriads of *gasparaux*, which a spring-tide has gone and left on the beach of the shores of NEW BRUNSWICK, under a burning sun in the month of July! I wish you had ever seen those *gasparaux*, Sir! How they flap and how they gape and how they poison the air, in a few hours afterwards. Such would have been the fate of the innumerable shoals of tax-eaters, if the old Pittite grubbers had continued on in their way. There would, in that case, have been a most dreadful convulsion; and so there will be now; unless the Government and the Parliament come openly to my SHOP, and prevent, by an *equitable and timely* adjustment, the plunder, the confiscation and the bloodshed, which, in all human probability, must take place if such adjustment continue to be obstinately rejected to the last. The TOM TIT, weekly newspaper, which, by-the-bye, ought now to cease its *chee-wee-ing* about my pretended inconsistency, seeing that it, even it has begun to peck at that very man of many acres. (BURDETT), whom it so lately praised, and for having attacked whom after having

formerly praised him, this TOM TIT so lately pecked at me! TOMMY TIT will now cease to talk about inconsistency, I hope! The truth is, that TOM TIT must have ceased to *chee-wee* altogether, if he had not shown hostility to this fickle, this crotchety, this inconsistent, this never-to-be-held-to-any-mark man of many acres, who, from being the most thorough-paced democrat that ever made his appearance in England, is now become all of a sudden, and without rhyme or reason, the most unbearable, the most insolent and most disgusting of aristocrats. The readers of the "TOM TIT" do not stand this; and, therefore, if TOMMY were inclined to stand it himself, he must "*chee-wee*" a little to the liking of his readers. This TOM TIT, as I was, above, going to say, affects still to censure my project for an equitable adjustment; and so does the stupid OLD TIMES; and so does the not much less stupid Chronicle. But, come, Mr. TOM TIT, you who are read by maidens of taste on the upper side of forty; you, who are read by the cuckolds of the 'Change, and by the crowds that fill the cuckold carts that ply between LONDON and BRIGHTON. You affect to believe, that this *Equitable Adjustment* would not be *equitable*; because it would necessarily reduce largely the nominal sum which the fundholder receives in the shape of interest. But, Tommy, have you contemplated that which may possibly happen, if no such deduction take place? If no such deduction take place, if no *equitable* arrangement be made, every fundholder will finally lose every farthing of his

or her funded property; and every annuitant, in every insurance office, will equally be ruined. Mortgagees may be a little better off, but every species of property coming under the shape of annuity, must, from the nature of things, cease to exist. It is useless to talk about taking vengeance of the aristocracy, or any body else. It is useless to talk of compelling them to make good the loss of the annuitants. There would exist no means of compulsion, nor would there be any tribunal to listen to the complaint of the losers. So that the TOM TIT, if it have any real regard for its maidens and its cuckolds, should take time to consider a little, before it join DADDY COKE and SUFFIELD and KNATCHBULL and JOHN SMITH and CALCRAFT and Lord CLIFTON and other equally wise persons, by no means forgetting Mr. BROUGHAM and LORD JOHN RUSSELL and ANNA BRODIE, in calumniating the author of the proposition for an equitable adjustment.

This adjustment will not, in all human probability, take place. No nation once brought to this pass, was ever yet saved by those who had brought it to this pass; and those who have brought it to such a pass, still have the power to keep their places, and to go on growing richer and richer at the public expense, and to have, at the same time, ninety-nine hundredths of the press speaking in their praise. Such men do not reform. They keep on as long as it is possible to keep on; and at last, when they seem to expect it no more than they did ten years back, the whole thing goes to pieces in their hands. There are, however, ge-

nerally, several indications of an approaching end to a system like this. And, what can be a stronger symptom than we now behold in all the various projects for *chopping* and *changing* the laws?—What is come to the English nation, that English laws will no longer do for it? What is come to us that we cannot live without a foot, and horse, and land, and water *police*, and without a thundering standing army in the time of peace, every soldier of whom now it seems is to swagger along through the country with *ten* rounds of powder and ball in his pouch? What is come to us, when we stand in need of all this? What is it all FOR? Answer me that question, thou greatest “Captain of the Age;” a fig for your ten rounds of ball-cartridges, unless they will make *wheat dear and cause the Bank to pay in gold at the same time*. This is what is wanted, and, unless the ball-cartridges tend to produce this effect, they are of no use at all.

I see that Stanley, who met with such sweet salutes at Preston, is about to bring in a Bill to regulate the mode of taking the poll at borough elections! He thinks now, I dare say, that this borough work is to go on, and that all the DERBYS, that all the STANLEYS, and all the HORNBYS, and all the EGERTONS, are to go swimming on in the present way with wind and tide! Stanley, a word in your ear: find out a way, my lad, of making the farmers pay rents, and of making the Bank pay the interest of the Debt in gold at the same time: find out that, STANLEY; for, unless you can find that out, I can tell you, as a secret

between you and I, that your bill about taking the poll at borough elections will be just as useful to you as one of your own rascally county newspapers, or one of the cards of any one of your once insolent and now broken down Cotton Lords. All these attempts at new projects are like the giving in marriage when Noah was getting ready to go into the ark. The only sensible things which are on foot, are the meetings of the weavers, and other common people, at Oldham, at Bolton, at that hell-hole Manchester, at Huntingdon, and elsewhere. Here the speakers and petitioners strike at the root of the evil; they do not amuse themselves with nonsense like that which comes from the lips and the pens of their pretended superiors: they clearly see the cause of their sufferings, and they manfully strike at it. I was delighted to see, that JOHN KNIGHT, who was the tenant of one of SIDMOUTH'S dungeons in 1817 and in 1818, made an excellent speech at Oldham. Never did SIDMOUTH, though once a Speaker of the House of Commons, though once a Secretary of State, and though once a Prime Minister, and once your patron, Sir; never did this SIDMOUTH make in his whole life time, a speech half so full of knowledge, half so full of wisdom, a tenth-part so full of talent, as this speech of JOHN KNIGHT, who, by the dungeon-work of 1817 and 1818, was stripped of every thing but his talents and his integrity. JOHN KNIGHT was confined in a dungeon at Reading. When LORD FOLKESTONE described to the House of Commons the horrible treatment of Mr. KNIGHT, CASTLEREAGH answered, that the

man was MAD. Just God! There is KNIGHT making a most able speech at Oldham, while CASTLEREAGH, who cut his own throat at North Cray in Kent, was declared by a coroner's jury to have been mad when he cut his throat!

Enough, Sir, for the present. We have to wait to see, now, how this thing will end. Those, who, until this time, have never had any other apparent disposition, than that of a desire to insult the people, now begin to have the feeling of fear. This, however, cannot save them. Such masses of injustice never can be passed over without notice of some sort or other. For my own part, my complaint is, that the nation has been injured in the most dreadful manner, that it has had to endure sufferings the most terrible; by, or in consequence of, the rejection of my advice. That advice cost nothing. The Long Island letter addressed to you was sold for two-pence; more than twenty thousand copies of it were sold for two-pence a piece. You had two-pence, or else the devil is in it. You could afford two-pence out of 1200*l.* a year; and the rest of the whigs, not excepting dead Lawyer HORNER and the Ministers, could surely afford two-pence. Their sinecure hack GIFFORD, whom they have just buried amongst the tombs of that group of despicable slaves, who lie buried in the place called "Poets' Corner:" this vile hack WILLIAM GIFFORD, stuffed with a double commissionership of the lottery, and with a Government sinecure for life: this well-gorged parasite gave the name of "two-penny trash" to the Register; and my belief is, that none of

you who have the bloated vanity to call yourselves public men, ever used to read the "*two-penny trash*." No wonder then that we are in our present situation; and I always say, that this nation not only *must* suffer, but that it *ought* to suffer, for not resenting the neglect of the Government, to listen to and to follow *my advice*. That it does suffer, and that it will suffer, is certain; but I say it *ought* to suffer. The nation itself has been unjust, with the exception of the working class, and the class of the inferior tradesmen and farmers. *I am able to save the country now*; I would pledge my existence, that I rescued the country from the danger of a convulsion: I am able to do it: I am willing to do it: the nation will not demand that I shall come to do it: the men in power and in Parliament laugh at me for saying I have this ability, while they have before their eyes the clearest of proof, that, hitherto, I have foreseen and foretold *every* thing that has happened, and that never was foretelling so amply fulfilled. You laugh, then, at my tender of services, do you? And, should I *weep* when I see your knees knock together? Shall I weep when I see you bewildered and distracted? Shall I *weep* when OTTIWEL WOOD and old NICHOLAS GRIMSHAW are wringing their hands? Am I to weep when BROUGHAM and KNATCHBULL and CALCRAFT and DADDY COKE and SUFFIELD are half frightened out of their wits? You can go on, can you, and make me a liar? Go on, then! Go on, I say! Carry your system on, I will stand and look at you; but the very Devil himself shall not

prevent me from *laughing*, and particularly when I see STANLEY with his bill, for improving the manner of taking the poll at elections, and, this too, just at a time, when I am stating, in a rule of three question, how long it will be before an acre of STANLEY's grandfather's land will let for a shilling or eighteen pence a year, or, be taken altogether for the use of the poor.

I now leave you, Sir, to the reperusal of my Long Island Letter. As you read it, remember that the author was in exile from his native country, for no other cause than that of having attacked the infernal system of paper-money and rotten boroughs; and that you were in Parliament, and in public pay, for no other cause than that of having been, and of still being, a supporter of that system. You are a lawgiver yet; and I trust that the time is still to come, when I shall hold up the contents of this letter to your face. Whether I do or not, I hold them up in the face of the nation; and again I say, that that whole nation, with the exception of the labouring classes and the lower rank of tradesmen and farmers, **OUGHT** to suffer, ought to be severely punished, ought to suffer in mind, body and estate, to a very considerable extent, for their baseness, in entertaining enmity towards me, or their not much less criminal conduct, in not calling upon the Government to follow *my advice*.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
GEORGE TIERNEY,
*On his opposition to the Bank
Protecting Act.*

*North Hampstead, Long Island,
1st July, 1818.*

SIR,

I ADDRESS you upon the subject of the debate on the thing called the *Bank Restriction Act*, passed in May last, and in which debate you took a part. I make use of your name upon this occasion for two reasons; *first*, that the Letter, which I am writing, may, without much of circumlocution, have an appellation to distinguish it from other of my Letters on the same subject; and, *second*, that I may directly, and, as it were foot-to-foot, place myself, as to some of your opinions, in opposition to you, whom I regard as being by far the most able man now in what is called the House of Commons. The question, upon which we are at issue, involves considerations of most tremendous importance; and the decision of it must take place at no very distant day. Therefore, though my opinions respecting it stand already, over and over again, recorded in terms the most positive as to meaning and the most distinct as to expression, I am anxious, from a sense of duty towards my country as well as from a love of honest fame, to put them once more into print. If events should prove that *I am in error*, as to this weighty matter, *justice towards those whom I may have misled, demands that I put into*

their hands the power of detection; and, if events should prove that I am correct, justice towards myself demands that I put beyond all dispute my claim to that public confidence, which may serve as some compensation for all the persecution, which I have suffered, chiefly for having promulgated these very opinions, which I am now about to re-assert.

During the far greater part of my political life I have entertained, and have, with very little intermission, been endeavouring to produce in the minds of others, a hatred and a horror of the funding and paper-money system. In referring to its origin, I found it bottomed in a settled design to sap the foundations of the constitution of England; and, in tracing its progress, I found this design had been but too fully accomplished. But, it is not of the silent, the sapping, the corrupting effects of this system that I am now about to speak: nor is it of the misery, the starvation, the stripes, and the deadly wounds, which it is, at this time, inflicting on the nation. It is of the effects which it has yet in reserve; and with regard to which effects, I perceive, that you hold opinions opposite to mine.

I will not waste my time, as you thought proper to waste yours, in an exposure of the flimsy, the shuffling, the false, the ridiculous pretexts, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer put forward as the grounds of his proposition for continuing the protecting act in force for another year. It can never be worth the ink that one writes with to be listened to by those, who could, for one single moment, listen to those pretexts as

something worthy of attention. Your observations on the *future effects* of the system, and your opinions as to the *practicability* and the *means* of preventing those effects: these constitute the only parts of the debate that merit the notice of any rational being.

It has always been an opinion, openly avowed by me, that the funding-system would be marked in its last stage, by a great national change; and, more recently, since it has been upheld as co-partner of the Borough-system, I have been of opinion, as I yet am, that the end of the funding-system will be the end of its associate; that they will die in each others arms amidst the shouting of the people; and this we may, I take it, call a great *convulsion*.

You are, I see, Sir, also of opinion, that the thing will end in a great *convulsion*. "He, therefore, exhorted the House to show its *earnestness* upon this occasion. If it did not do so, he feared that the consequences would be *dreadful*; that a terrible *convulsion* would take place. This was, probably, the last struggle to guard against that *melancholy event*, and let each man, who felt for the country, have the satisfaction of thinking, that, whatever be the result, he had done *his duty*."—These are the words of the close of your reply. Sufficiently impressive: sufficiently awful the warning. But, of *what use* was the warning? What was it intended to produce? Much able statement in your speech; a great deal of well pointed reasoning. But for *what*? To what end?

To put the matter into plain propositions, it stood thus: that

the House ought to be in *earnest*: that, if they were not, the paper-money would produce dreadful consequences and a great convulsion; and that, in order to show their *earnestness*, they ought to appoint a committee to *inquire*, before they passed the Bill.

Thus far I see my way clearly. It is plain, and I cannot err. A great mischief, a dreadful consequence, a convulsion, may, in some cases, be prevented by stopping to inquire before we proceed to action. But, was this one of these cases? Could any inquiry have tended to prevent that blowing up, of which you expressed your dread? Was it *possible*; I will not say *probable*; was it *possible*; was it within the compass of human skill or force, to make provision against that "*melancholy event*," which you anticipated with so much apparent sincerity and sorrow? You seem to have been of opinion, that *it was*; I am of opinion that *it was not*.

In order to enter fairly upon the discussion of this question, to wit, whether it was, or was not, *possible* to obtain, by inquiry, any means of preventing a final blowing-up of the paper-system, I must look back at what you say, in your own speech, as to the topics and objects of inquiry. These I find stated in the following words: "There remained little for him to say, except on the subject of the *mischiefs* which some persons apprehend from the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England. To a certain extent he was willing to admit, that these apprehensions might, perhaps, be well founded. He did not be-

"lieve, however, that any violent shock could occur. He by no means supposed that the Bank would try to secure the continuance of the restriction, by making the resumption of cash payments as difficult and as dangerous as possible; and he was convinced, that if the Bank sincerely applied themselves gradually and gently to prepare for that resumption, although, undoubtedly, a great diminution must take place in the existing circulation, yet, that it would not be productive of any of those fatal consequences which it was the fashion to apprehend from it. If there were no other grounds for going into an inquiry, the expediency of trying if a committee of that House could not chalk out some course by which the Bank of England might resume their payments in cash without endangering the tranquillity and welfare of the community, would be one amply sufficient. (Hear, hear, hear!) Indeed, were we asked how such a committee as that for the appointment of which he was about to move, could best employ themselves, he would say, in endeavouring to devise the means by which the cash payments by the Bank might be gradually brought about, and a limit put to the issue of paper, so as to facilitate those objects without risking any serious shock. This, he believed, might be done; but he also believed that it could be done only by a committee composed of intelligent individuals, who would calmly and dispassionately enter into the investigation of the subject, and collect all possible

information upon it from those who were the most competent to the task of affording such information."

This, then, was to be the object of inquiry: the Committee were to "endeavour to devise the means, by which the cash-payments by the Bank might be gradually brought about, and a limit put to the issue of paper, so as to facilitate those objects without risking any serious shock." Your opinion as to the probability of the Committee's effecting this object is in the affirmative. You admit, that, to a certain extent, there may be mischiefs attending the resuming of cash payments; but, you do not believe that any violent shock would occur. You believe, that if the Bank were to apply themselves sincerely to prepare gradually and gently for the resumption, although a great diminution in the circulation would take place, yet that no fatal consequences would ensue.

This was your opinion, Sir; and no wonder that it was cheered by those by whom you were surrounded. This opinion came, too, so pat just after my dismal predictions and doctrines, contained in that Petition. This opinion had an effect upon the Borough men like that of æther or laudanum upon a losing gamester; or, like that of Loader's dram upon old Mother Cole. And, so you "went out of the House amidst the loudest cheers!" Thank you kindly, Mr. Loader! Bless you, dear Mr. Loader!

I must be insincere myself, or I must treat you with sincerity; and yet if I do, I am afraid I must offend you; for it is quite impos-

sible for me to consider you as having been sincere upon this occasion without considering you as extremely shallow with regard to a matter, which you ought to have well understood, before you attempted to speak upon it in a public assembly; and particularly before you took upon you to be a leader in the discussion. As being the least offensive of the two, however, I will suppose you to have been sincere; and, upon that supposition, will proceed to give my reasons in opposition to this your consoling and comforting opinion; which opinion is, that means can be devised for enabling the Bank to pay in coin *without* producing any serious mischief, any fatal consequences, any violent shock.

As to mischief or fatal consequences, I may think so too. But, then, what you may think mischief and fatal consequences, I may regard as most happy events. To get rid of all misunderstanding here, I shall, as I fairly may, suppose you to mean, that the payment may take place *without a blowing up of the paper, and the borough systems*, and that the paper money and the Debt and the dividends and army and all can go on as they now go on.

If, Sir, as a quieter to those persons, who, you say, apprehend mischiefs from the resumption of cash payments; and, if, in answer to the fashionable opinions about fatal consequences to be apprehended from the same cause; if you, as might have been expected, had, in answer to these apprehensions, offered some reasons instead of a naked opinion in the negative, you would have saved me a great deal of trouble. However, your opinion being

wholly unsupported by any reasons does not prevent me from stating reasons in support of my opinion; and, if my reasons be good, your opinion must be erroneous.

Doubtless a Committee of the House of Commons, as it is called, would consist of some surprisingly ingenious gentlemen; but, though they would have been able to draw up, in a short time, a Green-Bag Report, there are certain things which they could not have done unless the House could have communicated to them a *real* instead of an hyperbolical *omnipotence*. And, amongst the things which a Committee could not have done, one would have been, the preventing of the holders of notes from going to get cash for them, as soon as the Bank should begin to pay: yet, unless they could have done this, it is pretty clear to me, that the payment would not have gone on for two days.

That the Bank cannot venture to pay now is certain. That fact must be taken as *admitted*; because, if it could venture to pay now, the bill would not have been passed; no, nor asked for. And, why cannot it pay now? For the same reason that many other people cannot pay their bills; namely, because it has not money enough to pay with.

There are two ways of enabling the Bank to pay: one, by putting gold into its coffers, and the other, by reducing the quantity of paper now afloat. As to the first, how is the Bank to get more gold into its coffers than it now has in these coffers, which, I believe contain very little? I ask you, Sir? What scheme could your committee have devised to effect this pur-

posed. Suppose I have a parcel of notes out, payable on demand. I wish to take them up; I wish to be able to pay them. I have not money enough to take them up; what am I to do? Borrow some money. But I must give *more notes* for the money I borrow, or must sell my goods or pawn them. The Bank has nothing to sell or to pawn; and, therefore, it must *buy gold with new issue of notes*. Now, Sir, if a man who had a hundred pounds out in notes, were to buy a hundred pounds in gold with another hundred pounds in notes, and then pay off the first hundred with the gold, and if all his notes were payable on demand to bearer, would he not be sent to a mad-house without any further proof of his confirmed insanity?

A Member of Parliament, whom I once (in the Bullion Committee time) endeavoured to prevail upon to go to the House and blow all the absurdities into air, asked me, why goods might not be sent abroad and sold for gold, and the gold brought home to the Bank! My answer was, that there was no other objection to this scheme, than, that the owners of the goods would, in all probability, want to keep for their own use the gold that the goods would be sold for. His next question was, why the Government would not get gold from South America. To be sure the mines were the places to look towards. But, then, it unluckily happened, that the owners of the gold in South America would demand payment for the gold; and, what was more, so little would they have for SAMUEL TAYLOR and Company, that they would take care and have the goods before they would let

the gold go; and, then, if the Bank sent the goods, they must issue paper to pay for the goods. By the help of a fleet and an army, the Bank might, indeed, *rob* the South American Mine-owners to a trifling extent; or the Bank men might *rob* the houses and travellers at home, though, perhaps, they would find little except their own paper. This, probably, the Bank men would have some scruple to do, unless assured of an *indemnity* bill before hand.

Their case, then, as far as relates to augmenting the relative proportion of their gold, is desperate; for this last is the only possible way, in which they can effect that object. How should there be any other, except, to the asses ears of MIDAS, the Boroughmongers and Bank-men could add his gold-creating touch? They have a parcel of paper, scraps of paper, of no value, which they want to convert into pieces of precious metal. A few years ago there was a Norfolk Farmer, who sold five hundred golden guineas to the Guard of the Norwich Coach, for twenty-seven shillings each. The dealer brought down the money the next morn, and asked for the guineas. The farmer had them in London, and up he went with the guard in order to deliver them. He had them quite safe in London, for they were in the Bank, where he had lodged them three years before for the sake of *secure keeping*! He went to the Bank, but it was *strained* from letting him have them out!

There are very few now-a-days who are so foolish as this farmer was. When that prime agent, Gibbs, was calling for his fellow

labourers to make me a "*blighted example*," he did not, I dare say, imagine, that he was doing that which would produce a *new era*, a totally new era, in political knowledge—" *Paper against Gold*" was amongst the fruits of that deed; and, Sir, whatever those to whom you addressed yourself may think, the *people* of England, the suffering people of England, know all about the paper-money system, and about which, before my foes thought they had murdered me, the people in general knew no more than they knew of the feats of witches and wizards. They did not know what a fundholder, a loan-jobber, or a director was. They knew nothing of the manner of making funds and debts; and, they, if possible, knew less than nothing about the manner in which *they themselves* were affected by this mystery. Little did they, before this period, imagine that this system of funding took from them four pence at least in the price of every pot of beer: and, that it was, in fact, this system, first proposed by BISHOP BURNET, which first by degrees, stripped the artisan and the labourer of all those conveniences and the means of good-living which were enjoyed by their grandfathers. The mass of the people knew, in short, nothing about the matter. But Gibbs and his fellow colleagues had tied me to the stake; and that was destined to be the means of producing a new era in political knowledge. "*Paper against Gold*" will, long and long after the bubble shall have burst, and overwhelmed all those who now, by various means, work the nation, live to bear testimony to my for-

titude and perseverance, and to the infamy of my persecutors.

But, the good of the thing is, that, while the *people* read this little book, the foes of reform do not read it. So that these latter, to their natural and habit-engendered stupidity, add, in this case, a refusal to use the ordinary means of acquiring knowledge. The *Blanketteers*, who cannot have less than about twenty thousand copies of this little book amongst them, and who have seen all its principles established and its predictions verified, to the very letter, by events; the *Blanketteers*, Sir, if they happened to read the debate, on which I am commenting, would smile at those *cheers*, with which the House honoured your comforting opinion. The *Blanketteers* would laugh at the idea of the Bank *adding to its stock of gold*; they would laugh at the idea of the Bank "*sending out gold and re-purchasing it*," as mentioned in another part of your speech; for their little book has, long and long ago, taught them how futile, how childish, how contemptible, all such notions are.

I have said, that it is *impossible*, absolutely impossible, for the Bank to *add to its relative stock of gold*, except by direct *robbery*; that is to say, by a robbery committed in South America (not easy), or a robbery committed on the highway and in the houses at home: a dash at the gold bangles and silver spoons. I can see, I think, what is running in your head upon this subject. You seem to imagine, that, if the Bank were to issue a parcel of notes and to purchase gold with them, though they would thereby *add to the positive quantity of notes*; they

would *diminish* the *relative* quantity; for that, the new notes would lodge gold equal to themselves in amount, which the old notes have not done. You will say, that if a man has a hundred one pound notes out, and has only one guinea in his coffers, and then put out another hundred notes and buy guineas with them, and put the guineas in his coffers, he will, by this operation, have *added to his relative quantity of gold*.

This is all very true, only you are supposing what it is impossible to effect. But let us see how an attempt in this way would work in practice. Suppose the Bank to have 30 millions of notes in circulation, and to have half a million of gold in their coffers. Well; they want to add to their gold; *why?* Because they want to be *able to pay in gold*. They, therefore, buy ten millions of gold; but, they do it with an *additional issue of notes*; and, mind, this issue must exceed ten millions, because, the paper must be *below par*, else the Bank could now pay in gold, without any purchase of gold. Very well, then; the Bank has now ten and a half millions of gold in its coffers, and much more than forty millions of paper afloat.

You are aware, I suppose, that this new issue of paper would instantly send up prices to an enormous height; you are, I suppose, aware, that it would sink the value of the paper in the same proportion; if you are not aware of these things, the *Blanketteers* are. But, having this gold in its coffers, the Bank *will then begin to pay*. Indeed! If it does, I can assure it, that I, who hold 21 of its depreciated pound-notes, will instantly go and get twenty of its guineas

for them. Thus will every other note holder act, to be sure: so that, in about two days all the gold will be drained out, and the quantity of paper left in circulation will be much greater than before the remedy was applied.

A worthy friend of mine, and one of the most pleasant, hearty, and able men I ever knew, the late Mr. BAYERSTOCK, of Alton, used to say of the *Unitarians*, "I want to know what they *would be at*; they will believe, and "will not believe; they will have "a creed, and yet they will be "infidels." Your financial faith, Sir, appears to me to be of this description. You think this paper-money a very *dangerous* thing; you think it big with fatal consequences, shocks and convulsions; and you think it *very easy*, perfectly *easy*, for the Bank to *pay out its gold* and then *buy it back again*, only by experiencing *some loss*. If this be true, Sir, what ground is there for alarm? If this be true, the borough-men may snore away the whole twenty-four, instead of twenty hours of their time.

That the Bank is quite able to *pay its gold out*, and that it might effect the thing in a very short space of time, nobody, I believe, will dispute; but, as to getting it *back again*, that would be a very different matter: for, as we have clearly seen, it must be effected by the means of new issues of paper; and, therefore, supposing the paying out not to cause a total blow-up at once, the Bank would, when the operation was over, only be just where it was before the operation began.

The "*some loss*" it is, however, that puzzles me the most. I must

quote your words here ; for, as I can hardly believe my own eyes, my friends, the Blanketteers, may well doubt of their correctness upon this occasion. " Let the Bank of England send out large quantities of gold from their coffers. That would alter the rate of exchange. The Bank would have no difficulty in purchasing gold to replenish their coffers, though certainly at some loss. But the question was, which was best—that Great Britain should lose the character for good faith which she had hitherto maintained, or that the Bank should be obliged to disgorge a part of the enormous profits which it had made from the country at large? (*Hear, hear, hear.*) Was it more desirable that the public credit should be preserved, or that the Bank, having accumulated millions upon millions, without contributing in the smallest degree to the national expenditure, should be enabled to persevere in that system!" (*Hear, hear, hear!*)

Yes, yes! they may cry "*hear, hear, hear!*" But, Sir, the Blanketteers know very well that all this affected reproach on the Bank is mere words. Be you assured, that all of the Blanketteer order are quite proof against every attempt to impose on them by affected reproaches against "*the Bank.*"

Aye, Sir, "*Let the Bank send out large quantities of gold from their coffers.*" They must get these quantities in first, to be sure; but, never mind that; let us, for argument's sake, suppose the larger quantities to be there. Well; now the gold is sent out. *How* is the Old Lady to get it

back? She is, it seems, to *purchase it back*. With *what*? With *what*? With *what*, I say! Answer me, or I die! With *what* is she to *purchase it back*? Why, with a *new batch of notes*, to be sure; unless she go and plunder the gold and silversmiths' shops, and rifle the butlers' pantries. In what other way is the old girl to *purchase it back*? A witch, indeed, she is, as far as tormenting goes; but, as to the turning of paper into gold, she is as harmless as the innocent in the cradle. It is all nonsense; it is all absurdity indescribable; for, what would be done *at home*, while the gold was travelling to and from the continent. But, never mind this: let us swallow this: she would, by the operation, supposing it to be as you say, gain nothing in the way of ability to pay.

But the "*loss*;" the "*some loss*," that she would experience: what can that mean, I wonder? Pray, Sir, what has the old Lady to *lose*? Do you happen to know the precise, or probable, place of deposit of any of her *valuables*? If you do, it would be but friendly dealing to apprise the Blanketteers of it. Do you allude to *her shop*, or to the *houses and lands and chattels* of the Directors and others of her Company? These she might, indeed, lose; but they would amount to little. Do you allude to the several millions of what is called *Stock*, or *Funds* or *Per Cents.*, of which she is the *owner*? Come, here we have, then, the Great Book before us, and here we find her written down for, suppose, twenty millions. Now, then, what is your notion? That she can get people to come and purchase part of this stock *with gold*

at a loss to her; that is to say, below the current paper price? Why, Sir, the very thought of such an operation would send down her paper fifty to the hundred: and, an attempt to put it in practice would blow up the whole thing.

No: you mean none of these. Your meaning is, that she must give more for the gold in paper than the nominal value of the gold, if in coin; and a higher price than the real money-price, if in bullion: and this would be neither more nor less than making upon the whole of the operation, an addition, relative as well as positive, to the quantity of her paper.

There remains, then, as I said before, no way, but that of direct robbery and plunder; to add to the relative quantity of her gold by the bringing in of gold. I have, indeed, overlooked one way of effecting this grand purpose, and which way I must notice before I proceed to the second part of my subject: It is this; the landowners might give up their estates, equipages, and other moveables. These would bring gold quickly. This gold might go to the Bank, and it would, as Mr. CATLEY truly said, enable the Old Lass to face her creditors, pay off her notes, and to pass once more for an honest dame. Whether these conscientious landmen, who cheered you, and who are so anxious to see guineas return, would voluntarily acquiesce in this measure, I must leave for wiser men to decide; but that this (with the exception of the robbery and burglary plan) is the only means by which gold can be brought into the Bank in such a

way as to augment the relative proportion of gold now in the coffers of that prime instrument, must, I think, now be clear as day-light to every one, who is not wilfully and obstinately blind.

We now come, Sir, to the other mode of augmenting the relative quantity of the cash of the Bankmen; namely, the reducing of the quantity of their paper. It is your opinion that this can be done in such a degree as to enable the Bank to resume cash-payments, and that, too, without producing any shock; and that, by this means, the present system of sway in England may be carried on for ages yet to come.

In combating this opinion, I shall hardly be a cool, because I shall be a deeply interested, reasoner; for, if I could believe your opinion to be sound, I should be the most mortified and most miserable of human beings. It is a directly opposite opinion, firmly settled in my mind; that forms the sole foundation of my hope. Were it not for this hope, I should droop down into a state of despondency, and, without another effort, give up my unhappy country.

But, whatever my wishes may be, they cannot impair my reasoning. I know well, that, according to the creed of your hearers, truth is not truth, if it drop from my pen: nor is this of any importance in my eyes: with the rest of mankind the case is different. They will reject, or adopt my opinions, as these are unsupported, or supported, by undoubted fact and conclusive argument. I do not, like you, Sir, hold forth naked opinions to be adopted and acted upon by others: I tender not any thing of mine as

the grounds of their belief: I tender reasoning, which is the common property of all mankind.

You say, Sir, that you think, that "means may be found, by which cash-payments may be *gradually* and *gently* brought about, and a limit put to the issue of paper, *without risking any serious shock*." I say, that such means *cannot* be found.

You speak, indeed, with some *diffidence*: and, in a former sentence, you "are willing to admit, that *mischief*, to a *certain extent*, might arise." This is an altered tone. The bullion committee did not talk in this way. They, and especially your wise patron, Lord GRENVILLE, boldly said, that the Bank ought to be compelled to pay on a day to be fixed, as the *only means* of restoring the currency of the country to a *healthy* state. A man must be a Lord to utter a foppish phrase like this without being hooted.

But, to get rid of all loop-holes, I admit your qualifications to mean, that the greatest of all possible precautions must be taken, and that, even with all these precautions, some *mischiefs*, as you call them, *something of a shock*, must and will take place. Even this view, which is the most favourable that you, an orator of the Borough-men, can take of the matter, would be quite sufficient to alarm any one but a besotted English fundholder.

I, however, set at nought all your qualifications; and, I say, that the thing must go on as it now is, that the Bank *never* can pay, or, that the whole system, Borough-men and all, must be blown up. This is my opinion; and I now proceed to state the

reasons, upon which that opinion is founded.

The use of the words "*gradually*" and "*gently*" make a great drawl in the expression of your opinion. They discover great diffidence, great unfixedness, and, indeed, great *confusion*, in your mind. You advance like one of us Englishmen here, when, in the burning hot weather, we attempt to imitate the natives in going without shoes. You had been set up by your party, to put to shame the poor stick that had been appointed to bring forward the Bill. You were compelled to oppose him, and yet you had too much regard for your own reputation to say point-blank, that the Bank could be enabled to pay. Hence all your qualifications and reservations. But, you do not seem to have perceived, that these, in certain cases, lead to, instead of keeping clear of, embarrassment; and, that, instead of saving a general position, they destroy it altogether.

Precisely thus has it happened here; and, if I had a mind to make short work of your opinion, I might stop at showing the complete absurdity of this notion of a *gradual* and *gentle* resumption of cash-payments; but from this temptation to laziness I abstain, and will, therefore, reserve the folly of this notion for exposure in a subsequent part of my letter.

To enable the Bank to pay in gold on demand *the Old Lady must reduce the quantity of the floating paper*. Indeed you say, that a *great diminution* must take place in the currency of the country. Now, it is incontestibly true, that such *diminution* must create a great *lowering of prices*; and, it

is not less true, that this lowering of prices must be *far greater in proportion* than the diminution in the quantity of paper-money. Because, the first effect of the lessening of the quantity of money afloat, is to straighten and throw into discredit many persons who got along pretty well amidst the abundance of money. The operations of this class, therefore, do not remain in *degree*, but are *put an end to altogether*. When money is plenty, it moves *quicker* than when it is scarce. A horse will be sold and re-sold *ten times* amidst abundance of money, and, perhaps, not *twice* when money is scarce; and, a shilling which passes twenty-one times a day from hand to hand, is just as efficient in its effect upon prices, on a national scale, as a guinea that changes possessor but once a day.

What, then, are the *unavoidable* consequences of a great diminution in the quantity of currency afloat, and of this lowering of prices? The ruin and misery of a great part of the people, and the actual starvation of many. These are the inevitable consequences of a lowering of prices by the means of a *change in the value of money*; and, it is clearly seen, that such change must be effected by a diminution of its quantity.

Suppose me to be a haberdasher. I have my shop full of goods, as many as I shall sell in a year. I lay in my stock to-day. It amounts to three thousand pounds; two of which I have credit for. I deal in gloves only, and they are laid in by me at 4s. a pair. I begin selling; and 6s. a pair gives me a good profit. But at the end of a month, the Bank goes to work to prepare for cash-

payments. It draws in a great deal of its paper. Money becomes scarce. Prices fall. I can sell my gloves at only two shillings a pair, and I am done for at a blow. Thus it must be with the farmer, the manufacturer, and with every person engaged in trade, no matter of what sort.

A man borrows a thousand pounds to-day, upon a house worth two thousand. Next month the Bank draws in its paper, and the house is not worth one thousand. He loses his house for ever.

Another dies to-day, leaves an estate to his son, worth three thousand pounds, with legacies to pay out of it to the amount of fifteen hundred. Before a sale of the estate takes place, the drawings in of the Bank have lowered the worth of the estate to one thousand. The legacies can be paid only in part, and the son is a beggar.

Wheat is 15 shillings a bushel, and a man, calculating upon that price, rents a farm at a hundred a year. The drawings in at the Bank brings wheat down to 5 shillings a bushel. The man cannot pay his rent, his stock is seized and sold. He goes to gaol, and his family to the poor-house.

In the meanwhile, there is no money to pay the journeymen and labourers. Employment cannot be had; and starvation follows. However, men do not, in very great number, starve to death, without an effort to save life. Hence robberies and thefts; and, to prevent detection, come murders. This is the natural, this is the inevitable progress.

These would be the consequences if there were no taxes at all. What, then, must the conse-

successes be, in a country where the taxes amount to double the sum that the rent of all the houses, lands, mines, and canals amount to? And, how is the army and how is the interest of the debt to be paid, if the wheat fall to 5 shillings a bushel? You know very well, Sir, that they are now paid partly by loans, in one shape or another. You know, that there is not so much raised as is wanted, by fifteen millions a year. You know, that loans to this extent are annually made. You know that these loans go to augment the debt and the dividends, and that this requires an augmentation of the paper-money. How, then, are the dividends and the army to be paid, if prices be lowered to the standard of wheat at 5 shillings a bushel? If money enough cannot be raised now; if the debt keeps on increasing now, what is it to do when this lowering of prices shall take place? And you complain of the amount of the debt; blame the poor stick for not making an effort to reduce it; and, yet you would add to it by an attempt to make the Bank pay in coin! You would reduce it by doubling its real amount! Yes, by giving the fundholder three bushels of wheat, where you now give him but one! You are sadly pestered! Sadly, bemired!

As I am not for arguing upon any disputed fact, I do not think it necessary to bind myself down to wheat at five shillings a bushel. I am decidedly of opinion, that the resumption of cash payments would bring it down to 3 shillings a bushel. The Bank by its mere attempt to prepare for cash payments brought down the wheat to seven or eight shillings a bushel.

It brought it down to this price from 15 shillings a bushel; and, why are we to believe, that it would not have come down to 3 if cash payments had really been begun?

The miseries of 1816 and 1817 are hardly forgotten yet; and the acts of those days never will be. The thing saved itself then partly by violence; but it could not have done that long; and, therefore, out it tumbled its paper again. Without this, dungeons and gags and gallowses and bayonets would have been, in a very short time, of no avail. It is not the return of prosperity that you now behold; but the return of paper.

When the misery was at its height, the Bank put out their new gold and silver coin. The fools thought they were getting back to the *chink* of coin. But, compelled to slaughter a starving people, or to bring back the paper, they yielded, and brought the paper back; and instantly flew away all their gold and silver; and CASTLEBAGH, during the debate, says, that the new Sovereigns were all melted down and sent out of the country! The Bank have, in order to obtain a respite, put forth the paper again, and you, their orator, would have them, in order to avoid a convulsion, draw it in again!

In "*Paper against Gold*," Letter XXV., I had said, that, if the Bank attempted to draw in its paper, universal ruin would ensue. Pray, Sir, read that Letter. Never mind its cheapness. The Blanketeers have all read it. Why should not you be as wise as they? If you had read it before you had made your speech, you would, I think, not have said what you did!

I there *proved*, that universal ruin *must* be the effect of such an attempt. That attempt was made, and the ruin came!

But, you wish the Bank to proceed *gradually* and *gently*. When a man has *means* that are dropping in *gradually*, he may pay *gradually*; but this is quite another case. The Bank has *now* all the means that it ever will have, or can have. If the paper be drawn in *gradually*, the approach of the misery and ruin and uproar will be *gradual*, that is all. The want of employment will come on *gradually* and *gently*, but it will *come*. The convulsion will be the *end* of the scene, but there will be a *convulsion*. The notion of the man, who attempted, by slow, and very slow, very gentle degrees, to teach his horse to live without food, was much about upon a level with this notion of yours. The man succeeded at last; but just at the moment the *horse died*. To draw in the paper-money without reducing the interest of the Debt and all public pay and salaries, is to ruin all persons in trade, and to starve the labouring classes; and what signifies it whether this ruin and starvation come all at once, or by degrees?

But, besides this argument founded on the nature of the case itself, we have before us one of experience. The Bank did proceed *gradually*: it did proceed *gently*. It began drawing in, in 1814; it kept on, until 1816, about October. This was *gently* enough. The *nonsense* of those years will stand for ever recorded as the tip-top nonsense of the world. The tradespeople called for cheap corn; the farmers and their greedy landlords for dear

corn. The landlords would "*tell the house of it, that they would!*" And away they went to the "*omnipotent house*" to secure them a fair price for their corn. The House passed a Corn Bill "to *protect the farmer, that useful member of society.*" And Corn grew *cheaper and cheaper!* I kept telling Mr. CROKE and Mr. WESTERN, that they were upon a very wrong scent. I told them, that *the old lady was at work*, and that no Corn Bills would protect them against *her craft*. The distresses kept on increasing; and, in 1816, on came the wise landlords again with long strings of resolutions for *the relief of agriculture*.

The true history of all the miseries of 1815, 1816, and 1817, is this: When *peace* came, the shame, the disgrace, the infamy, and, more than all these, the *danger* of not paying in gold, or, at least, not appearing to pay in gold, stared the administering tools full in the face. An attempt to *appear* to pay could not be made without drawing in a great deal of the paper. These tools were too weak to perceive the full extent of the consequences of even such an attempt. They appear, however, to have been afraid to make it. But, there was I, baiting them weekly with charges of insolvency. Foretelling that they never would pay; foretelling that they would finally be the scorn of all the world; and, in short, galling them in all sorts of ways; not forgetting to remind them, that when their paper money blew up, we should have our *parliamentary reform*. To work they went, therefore, drawing in their paper, and on came the ruin and misery; slowly, gradually, gently enough;

but, still it came on. I kept, even-
on, as the Yorkshire-men say,
telling them that their scheme
would not succeed; that they
would never be able to pay; *that*
they must put out the paper again.
They, like fools as they were,
persevered. We, as we had a
right to do, pressed them *for re-*
form. We beset them with argu-
ments and prayers. They threw
off their mask.

But while we gained the advan-
tage of seeing them in their naked
form, they gained nothing at all.
They were, though well set out
with dungeons and gibbets, com-
pelled to *bring back the paper*
again; and to stand before the
whole world, as they now do.
The ruin and misery they pro-
duced by this vain attempt open-
ed the people's ears to the various
causes of their sufferings; they
made men listen, who before
turned a deaf ear; they were the
cause of the spread of knowledge
more extensive than any people
ever before possessed.

If, Sir, you want *more* proof,
than has now been offered, to con-
vince you, that the Bank *never* can
pay, without producing a convul-
sion in the country, I confess my
inability to furnish it; and, there-
fore, I here close my arguments
upon the subject.

But, then, there remains the
question, *what is to become of the*
thing at last? That is quite ano-
ther matter; and I am as fully
convinced as you appear to be,
that the consequences will finally
be "*fatal*;" in which conviction
I am as happy as you seem to be
miserable. You say, in one part
of your speech, that you are "*per-*
fectly aware, that there are per-
sons in the country, who are

"alarmed at the prospects of cash
payments. These persons ap-
prehend all sorts of horrors;
that nobody will get his rents,
that the funds will be at zero,
and that there will be a general
bankruptcy." Oh, oh! They
begin to see this, then, do they!
Ah, ha! I am glad to find that they
are coming to my opinions at last!
Very well, then, the thing is, I
suppose, to *remain as it is?* Is
that what they mean? If it be,
they are deceived. It will not
remain as it is long. The blow-
ing up will come, whether the
Bank draw in its paper, or not.
The government must go on bor-
rowing, unless they issue such
quantities of paper as to make the
guineas sell for thirty shillings.
This borrowing must regularly
add to the quantity of paper.
This paper will, in spite of their
teeth, come, at last, to an open
contest with gold: *two prices* will
show their faces, and then, good
bye Bank-men and all the thing!
The taxes will be paid in paper;
the law-men and spies and fund-
holders and soldiers, will be paid
in taxes; and the butcher, baker,
and brewer will insist on having
real money!

This will be the end, if the thing
go on in its present way. Your
scheme would, probably, bring the
thing to a close sooner; but, be the
end when it will, or how it will, the
prediction of PAINÉ will be veri-
fied: the Borough-system will last
as long as the paper-money-sys-
tem, and not one moment longer.

Precisely *how* the thing will
terminate, whether it will die gra-
dually down into the bottom of
the socket, or go out at once by a
puff, is a question that I do not
pretend to be able to determine:

it is sufficient for me to know, that the total extinguishment will come; and that it will bring with it liberty and happiness; a King and people both enjoying their rights.

I am, Sir,

Your Most obedient

And most humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

DUKE OF YORK.

EITHER this nation must be openly acknowledged to be the basest in the whole world, or the most duped and insulted. The newspapers, from one end of the country to the other; the whole of this infamous press, without hardly a single exception, is employed in promulgating the most disgusting, the most nauseous, the most corrupt, the most putrid and the most stinking eulogiums on the memory of this man. The eulogiums, to use the words of the late Ellenborough, uttered in the House of Lords, are "*false as hell*"; and, to use the words of Canning, when speaking about that persecuted QUEEN, (with regard to whom the DUKE of YORK's conduct is very well known), to use the words of CANNING, on an occasion connected with that Queen, "*SO HELP ME GOD*," these eulogiums shall not go forth AFTER NEXT WEEK, without having to face SOME TRUTH, at any rate, respecting the object of them. What! has this corrupt press; this mercenary, this vile, this detestable, this nasty scotch-irish; this nasty set of hirelings, half crabbed accents and half blabber; has this

base and mercenary crew, this clump of hired pens; has it got such sway over the minds of really enlightened, but *modest* Englishmen, as to cause them to believe, that the DUKE of YORK ought to be held in reverential recollection by Englishmen? *Silence* upon such occasions, is the prudent and becoming course; and, I will pledge my life, the KING would say the same, if the question were put to him; because I have a right to presume, that his MAJESTY is a man of sound understanding. Nobody more than he ought to deprecate the officious babble, the insolent twattle of these pretended friends to the memory of his brother. At any rate, I am resolved, and I say, "*so help me God*," that this infamous press shall not thus bamboozle the honest and just people of England. It has required a good deal to goad me to this; I have been called upon from all parts of the country, and from the soundest and most sensible of men that I know of, to stem this torrent of insolent humbug and falsehood. I could see the nasty, greasy wives, the lazy loads upon the backs of the industrious tradesmen, and their tucked up daughters treading in the steps of their insolent and beastly mothers: I could see all these, sitting at or round that piano, which is a mere excuse for not being at work; I could see them drawn off in bombazeen, for which possibly they had run the toiling husband in debt; I could see this, with only a feeling of ineffable contempt for the creatures thus drawn off. When I came to the *husbands* indeed and *fathers*, who had been beggared and perhaps put in gaol, in consequence

of those enormous taxes, arising, in great part, from that thundering standing army and that thundering dead weight, at both of which, this DUKE was at the head; when I came to these husbands and fathers indeed, I felt my contempt mingled with indignation. Still, *loathing of the subject, habitual loathing of the subject*, prevented me from giving utterance to my contempt and indignation. But, goaded on, as I now am, by the insolent eulogiums before-mentioned, and called upon as I have been, by excellent friends in various parts of the country, I will, "so help me God," as CANNING said, endeavour to put forth a little matter of historical truth, respecting this same DUKE of YORK; and then I shall leave his mourners to enjoy in uninterrupted tranquillity, those pleasing reflections which their having mourned for his Royal grace, are calculated to inspire in their enlightened and loyal minds.

AMERICAN KIDNEY BEANS.

I HAVE two sorts of these, the finest that ever were in England; one of them the very earliest that I ever saw; and the seed, in both cases, so ripe, sound, and excellent, that a large crop from it is certain.—One sort is *Yellow*, the other *Speckled*; both are dwarfs.—Price—17s. a bushel, and smaller quantities in proportion, with something added for paper, string, and trouble.—They are sold at the Office of the Register, No. 183 Fleet Street, and may be sent, by order, to any part of the country.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending March 16.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat ..	56	9	Rye	38	8
Barley ..	37	3	Beans ...	48	2
Oats	30	4	Pease ...	50	2

Total Quantity of Corn returned as Sold in the Maritime Districts, for the week ended March 16.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	40,934	Rye	331
Barley ..	20,687	Beans ...	3,337
Oats ...	15,948	Pease ...	1,151

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, March 17.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat..	4,662	for 14,018	5	3	Average,	60	1
Barley..	5,928	.. 11,315	18	9	.....	38	1
Oats..	4,107	.. 6,673	0	2	.....	32	5
Rye....	—	.. 0	0	0	.....	0	0
Beans..	1,392	.. 3,265	8	7	.....	46	9
Pease..	822	.. 2,033	1	8	.....	40	5

Friday, March 23.—There are moderate arrivals this week of all kinds of Grain, and a good supply of Flour. The Wheat trade remains unaltered from Monday. Barley meets a slow sale, at last quotations. Beans and Pease sell heavily at Monday's terms. There has been little doing in Oats, to-day, and the rates of the beginning of this week are hardly supported. Flour meets a very heavy sale.

Monday, March 26.—During the past week, the arrivals of nearly all sorts of Grain were tolerably good, with a considerable quantity of Flour. This morning there is a limited supply of Wheat, Barley, Beans, and Pease, from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, and scarcely any thing from more

distant ports. Superfine Wheat being scarce, has obtained last Monday's prices, but all other sorts are very heavy in sale, owing to the languid state of the Flour trade.

The best samples of Barley have obtained 1s. per qr. more than this day se'nnight. Beans meet a very heavy trade, and hardly maintain last week's quotations. Pease of both kinds are very dull sale, and rather lower. Good stout samples of Oats meet sale on former terms; while all other descriptions command so little attention, that the sellers are disposed to take rather less money to effect sales.

Account of Wheat, &c. arrived in the Port of London, from March 19 to March 24, both inclusive.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	5,408	Tares	39
Barley ..	4,207	Linseed ..	—
Malt	5,116	Rapeseed ..	93
Oats	9,524	Brank ..	23
Beans	1,763	Mustard ..	—
Flour	10,762	Flax	—
Rye	—	Hemp	—
Pease	1,144	Seeds	—

Foreign.—Barley, 32; Oats, 3,413; and Beans, 191 quarters.

HOPS.

Price of Hops, per Cwt. in the Borough.

Monday, March 26.—Our Market remains the same as for the last three weeks. There is a report from the Plantations that the stock is very much injured, and cuts very badly.

Maidstone, March 23.—The Hop Market continues very dull, and seems for the present quite at a stand.

Worcester, March 21.—On Saturday, 95 pockets of Hops were weighed; the sale was brisk at the last quoted prices.

SMITHFIELD.

Monday, March 26.—The market was very heavy on Friday, and the prices of Monday were not supported. To-day, the supply is large for the season; but a very large proportion of Beasts and Sheep came in a very indifferent state. The cutting trade being also bad, there is a great dullness in the demand, and prices have given way. Though a few prime Beasts have made 5s., yet on the whole, the top quotation is 2d. a stone worse than this day se'nnight; and many lean and half-meated things will remain unsold. In Mutton, we can go no higher than a crown for any thing: most of the half-breds come loose and bad; and these, with other ordinary Sheep, are 3s. to 4s. a-head down.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	10	to	4 10
Mutton	4	0	—	5 0
Veal	5	0	—	5 8
Pork	4	8	—	5 4
Lamb	0	0	—	0 0

Beasts . .	2,561	Sheep ..	19,760
Calves ...	131	Pigs ...	131

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	4	to	4 4
Mutton ...	3	4	—	4 4
Veal	3	4	—	5 4
Pork	3	8	—	5 8
Lamb	0	0	—	0 0

LEADENHALL, (same-day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef ...	3	2	to	4 6
Mutton ...	3	2	—	4 4
Veal ...	3	4	—	5 4
Pork	4	0	—	5 8
Lamb	0	0	—	0 0

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Horncastle, March 24.—Beef, 8s. per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton, 8d.; Pork, 7d.; and Veal, 7d. to 8d. per lb.

At *Morpeth* Market, March 21, there was a good supply of Cattle and Sheep, and there being a great demand, both sold readily; the latter at an advance in price.—Beef, 5s. 9d. to 6s. 6d.; and Mutton, 8s. to 9s. per stone, sinking offal.

Manchester Smithfield Market, March 21.—Our market to-day was well attended by country butchers, &c., who purchased the best qualities pretty freely at the early part of the day, at last week's prices, while the inferior sorts remained a drug (which is generally the case) at the close of the day.—Beef, 5d. to 7½d.; Mutton, 6d. to 8d.; Veal, 5d. to 7d.; and Pork, 4½d. to 6d. per lb. sinking offal.

Norwich Castle Meadow, March 24.—The supply of fat Cattle to this day's market was large, prices 7s. 6d. to 8s. per stone of 14 lbs. sinking offal; we had also a large show of Scots, and the sale slow at 3s. 9d. to 4s. per stone; good Scots that will weigh 50 stone when fat, selling at 10l.; only a few Shorthorns sold at 3s.; Cows and Calves, and Homebreds, a very flat sale. Only a small show of Sheep; Shearlings 25s. to 30s.; fat ones to 48s.; Hoggets, 15s. to 24s. Meat: Beef, 6½d. to 8½d.; Veal, 6d. to 8d.; Mutton, 6d. to 7d., Lamb, 10d.; and Pork, 6d. to 8d. per lb.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

VOL. 62.—No: 2.] LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 7, 1827. [Price 6d.]

Published every Saturday Morning, at Seven o' Clock.



“Your merry facetious men seldom penetrate farther than the superficialities of things, which is the very seat of a Jest.”—**LORD BACON**, *Essay on Rhetoric*.

“This is a business of virtue, not a trial of wit. Who is there that would not rather have a Healing, than a Rhetorical Physician? But, for esteeming any man purely upon the score of his Rhetorick, I would as soon chuse a Pilot for a good Head of Hair.”—**SENECA**, *Epistle II*.

WHO IS TO BE MINISTER?

Kensington, 4th April, 1827.

I HAVE often had to observe, that I thought it likely, that one of the steps leading to a destruction of the funding and paper-money system, would be a sort of *breaking up* of the Ministry. Not a mere change of Ministers; but a

sort of new modelling; and that this would arise from the great difficulties that would exist in the carrying on of the affairs of the Government. It was very clear that, when the system arrived at a certain point of danger, all men of real worth and wisdom would

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Printed and Published by WILLIAM COBBETT, No. 183, Fleet-street,
[ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.]

keep aloof from it. Such men, if they were to be found in the country, could never be expected to take upon them, without compulsion, a responsibility for the effects of the follies or wickedness of others: it was contrary to common sense to suppose that anybody would be desirous of coming into the inheritance of all the embarrassments of *debt*, and of all the obloquy attending the means of meeting that debt. I thought, and I have repeatedly expressed my opinion, that, when the system came to be in a state of obvious peril, the Ministers, who were in place, and who happened to possess any thing approaching to discernment and foresight, would seize some opportunity for retiring; that there would be found, however, enough persons of some sort or other, willing to take their places; that these would, most likely, be for trying some new scheme or other; and that, the machine, once put out of its usual course, would tumble to pieces

without one hardly knowing why or how.

The state in which we now are, differs from the one contemplated by me; that is to say, it differs in its *beginning*; but, I think it very likely, that it will not differ from it in its ending. The political demise of Lord Liverpool ought to have produced, in the ordinary course of things, no sensible effect at all. To the whole machine of Government, he was no more than the little bit of leather that the wagoner puts through the eye of of the linch-pin; that, if the wagoner leave out the bit of leather, the linch-pin comes out, the wheel comes off the axle-tree, and, especially if it be heavily laden, crack comes the wagon to the ground. The place of this bit of leather would, in other times, have been supplied in a moment, without the smallest difficulty or delay; but now, the situation of this bit of leather is a situation by no means desirable to men whose ambition is under the control of wisdom; and, there-

fore, we see weeks and even months elapse without the deficiency being supplied.

We have seen the strangest things happen, as to this matter, that ever were witnessed in the world. But, the strangest of them all is, that there should be even a thought existing in any rational mind, that those who have the power of choosing Prime Ministers, should think of making choice of Mr. Canning. Yet, if we are to believe the brothers of the broad-sheet, the thing is already determined upon, and we are to have the honour, at last, of having the Captain of Eton for the prime adviser of our King. Let me observe, here, that, of all the things in this world, that which I myself most desire, is, *to see the system in the hands of this man!* I want the system to be brought to an end. I am not given to be impatient upon this subject. I have never met with any politician so patient as myself; so willing to wait for the consummation of things; so willing to wait, pa-

tiently, for the overthrowing of that which I abhor. But, the thing cannot come *too soon*, even for me. I want to see the thing accomplished; I am satisfied there is no man on earth who would hasten the accomplishment like this man; who would so soon convince even the wilfully blind, that this system ought to stand no longer; and, therefore, I most anxiously wish that he may be Prime Minister, which, alone, I will bargain to take beforehand, as full compensation made by the system to me for all the evils that I have ever experienced at its hands; and, I hereby declare, that his appointment as Prime Minister, shall be deemed to be, shall be taken to be, and shall be, a receipt in full of all demands given by me to the system.

But, in addressing myself to my readers, I must not suffer my wishes to misguide my pen. At this time those readers will naturally wish to know what is my opinion about *who is to be Minister*. It is impossible for me,

who never see any of the parties engaged in the intrigues that are going on; who never see any body that ever sees them; it is impossible for me to be able to give any information upon the subject, founded on any positive facts relating to it. I can have no foundation for my opinion but that which is furnished by the reason of the case itself. I know that men very seldom act contrary to their known and obvious interests. I know that nobody can be Minister for more than about a month or six weeks against the will of the owners of the land of this country, and who are owners, also, of some other very valuable things, which, for the present, shall be nameless. I know that a great many of these persons are said, and I believe truly, not to be overburthened with sense; but I have never heard of any one of them who was quite so foolish as to prefer rags and a bit of dry bread and naked feet cut by the flints, to fine clothes, sumptuous living, and a snug carriage to ride

in: and, I know that men must prefer the rags and the crust and the naked feet to the good things before mentioned, if they have those good things, arising out of landed estates, and if they choose Mr. CANNING as the lord of their destiny: he being, in my opinion, of all men living, the man to bring their "noble to ninepence, and their ninepence to nothing."

The brothers of the broad sheet, Mr. Brougham's best public instructor, assure us, upon their honour, for the goodness of which honour each is ready to pledge his pair of shoes without heels: they assure us upon their "*sacred honour*," that the whole nation are calling aloud for Mr. Canning as Prime Minister. This is what is called, I believe, the *puff* *indirect*: it is telling the readers of the broad sheet what the nation is wanting. That is to say, every individual reader is to believe that *every other person but himself*, at any rate, wishes Mr. Canning to be Minister. This is an old, hackneyed, vulgar,

most vulgar mode of puffing; and an ineffectual mode, too; because, as far as it is believed, it deadens the exertion, if he be capable of any, of the reader. This is, however, a most stupid puff: it is wholly false, and it is wholly unlikely to be true. What part of the nation is for Mr. Canning? If you want to know what the Lords think of him, read their speeches and listen to their laughs. As to the people at large, in what way; in what document; in what petition or what address have they uttered a syllable in approbation of this man? He has been the most unmeasured, the most rude, the most merciless, the most insolent assailant of all those, be they of what description they might, who have stood forward, who have dared to open their lips in the cause of public liberty. If we trace him from his very first entrance into the House of Commons about six and thirty years ago, down to the present day, we shall find that there never has been one act tending to abridge the political

and civil liberties of the people, which he has not defended and applauded. In the passing of the Power-of-Imprisonment Bill in 1817, though not, properly speaking, in the Ministry at the time, he was the great advocate for the measure. In 1818, when the Bill was renewed, he was again the advocate, standing foremost of the whole; and, upon this occasion it was, that he cracked his jokes upon the rupture of Ogden. In the affair of SIX ACTS, he was again the most noisy of all the champions of that new code of grinding laws: amongst which was one law (still in force) to compel printers and publishers to give security, *even before they began to print*, for the payment of any fines that might be inflicted upon them *in case they should* print or publish a libel; and, amongst which was another law (still in force) rendering liable to *banishment for life*, any man who might print or publish any thing, having even a *tendency* to bring the House

of Commons (of which he himself was a Member) into contempt!

Monstrous, then, is it to suppose, that this man can be a favourite with the people at large; monstrous, indeed, to suppose that this man, who has reviled the people more than any man that I ever knew or ever heard of in my life; monstrous that they should wish to see him at the head of the advisers of the king! And, as to persons who have no kind of public spirit within them; who rather approved than disapproved of his constant and bitter hostility to the friends of freedom and reform: how it is to be believed that such men can wish to see him in an office of great power: to see him the PILOT in this perilous storm?

Where is there a man who ever said so many foolish things as this man has said? That part of Rochester's epitaph on CHARLES the Second: that "he never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one," would not suit this witty gentleman; for, though he never yet did a wise thing in his public

capacity, no man ever said so many foolish things. A bare string of them, with a short explanation of each; a bare string of those which I myself could recollect, and that I have noticed in print, too, would fill this whole Register. It admits of clear proof that it was his jesting despatches which produced the late most disastrous and disgraceful war with the United States of America. Nothing admits of clearer proof than this; for, though he was not Secretary of State at the time when that war began, his despatches were the real causes of that war; and, is there an Englishman who can now look at the maritime force of those United States of America, and who can think of his contemptuous sneer (in open Parliament) at the half-dozen fir frigates with bits of striped bunting at their mast-heads; is there an Englishman, who can thus look and thus think, and not blush for his country, when he reflects that this man has been living upon the labours of her people from that day to

this, and that there is now a press, infamous enough to be extolling to the skies and wanting to cram down the throat of the King, this very jester on the bits of striped bunting ?

However, that which plodding, selfish men, will be most likely to keep in view is, his conduct with regard to that all-important matter the *paper-money*. He, together with his colleague, Mr. Huskisson, were of the Bullion party, in 1810. In 1819, he called upon the House for an unanimous vote in favour of Peel's Bill, in order to set the question at rest for ever. In the summer of 1825, he gave the most solemn pledge that, let what would happen, he never would consent to return to Bank Restriction again. In 1826, he defended a Bill for the abolition of one-pound-notes at the end of three years; and he made use of arguments, and put forward assertions, and laid down principles, the whole of which, together with the most solemn pledges, he must abandon, in manner the most

barefaced, or really, and in good truth, and almost literally, let the furies of war out of his leash.

If he were to be Prime Minister (and this is why I wish he may) he *must persevere with the present law*. He cannot retract : he cannot move an inch from the stake that he has bound himself to, and there must be an end to the system. I wish to see that end ; but, the far greater part of those who have money and estates, wish for no such thing. Such persons, too, are astounded at the hair-brained enterprise with regard to Portugal, the equal of which, taking all things into view, was certainly never seen before. Men naturally ask themselves what is to become of them, if a head like this is to *preside*. Here are a large part of the expenses of an ordinary war, for no earthly purpose that any man can assign : for a mere whim, it would seem ; and, then the speech, which was corrected and published in a pamphlet, came to crown the whole of a series of such childish proceed-

ings, as are shocking but to think of, and that never could have come into the head of any one not of the character described in the words of that part of my motto, which is taken from Lord BACON. It is very pretty to hear jesting: nothing is more amusing than to see and hear the player-folks; but, when the affairs of a nation are to be managed, who yet ever thought of intrusting the management to a jester?

I believe, that there are no description of persons in the country, who do not, as I do, wish this paper-system to be destroyed, together with all the misrule and miseries that arise out of it, that can possibly wish this man to be the Minister. The newspaper fellows wish it; but, then, they regard him as *belonging to the corps*, to the regiment of the newspaper press. They can say what they like, in their sheets. They think themselves the nation, and therefore, they say that the nation, with one united voice, call out for him to be the Minister. As I told Mr.

BROUGHAM some time ago, *news-paper praise* is very fine, but does not wear well; and I reminded him, that old Sherry discovered that, when it was too late. The newspapers very often make matches, even, almost, in spite of the parties; but, I have never yet heard of one single public man, who was a great favourite with the newspapers, that was confided in by the public. The public read newspapers; often swallow their lies; but, in the long run, they detect the lies; and, in a case like this, they have so many other means of judging of the party that is praised, that the praise thus bestowed, does little more than excite suspicions that make against him. If the newspapers have an advantage in some cases, in keeping hidden the authors of their contents, they have, in the case of praise bestowed by them, this very great disadvantage, that the party praised, is suspected to be the author of it himself, or to have paid for its inser-

tion, every inch of every column being well known to be saleable.

So much, then, for the wishes of the nation upon this point. But that Mr. Canning's wishes are pretty strong is evident enough. There appears to have been an intrigue, or something very much like an intrigue, going on for a long while, between him and those ridiculous gentry that are still called the *Whigs*. They have been complimenting him for some years; holding him up in the way of contrast with his associates in power; endeavouring to give him a character and a degree of weight with the people, not for the sake of good to him, but for the sake of mischief to his colleagues; endeavouring to make him great in order to diminish the power of his associates in the government. This has been so palpable that every body has seen it. Even BURDETT, who had talked about the "*crib*," and who had said, upon various occasions, every thing against him that man could well say, has joined in these com-

pliments to him, and for what reason other than the very suspicious one that I have just mentioned, it would, I believe, puzzle the Baronet to tell. At the time when the French were marching into Spain, it was manifest that the parts were arranged before hand, which this Prime Minister and Mr. BROUGHAM were to act. On the recent affair of the Portuguese expedition, when the *Æolian* speech was made, the latter gentleman over-acted his part; for he applauded to the skies all those "*truly English sentiments*" which the Right Honourable Secretary had, in less than a week afterwards, *to retract*, in a new edition of his speech, with additions and amendments! Nor are there wanting persons to express their belief that it is quite within the compass of possibility that, the other night, Mr. Canning knew, or at least was pretty well able to guess, at what my old correspondent, TIERNEY, was going to say, before either of them entered the House! To be plain, I thought this the

moment I saw the report; and several persons have made to me the same observation before bearing my opinion upon the subject.

It is clear that Mr. Canning rests upon the Whigs. His publishing his speech at Ridgway's, his compliments to the Whigs, and theirs bestowed on him; these things can leave no doubt, in the mind of any man that he rests upon them as a sort of scare-crows; a sort of body which he can join, if he be not gratified on his own side of the House. But, before he places much reliance upon these gentry he ought to consider a little what these gentry are worth in themselves; and if he were thus to consider, he would find that they were worth not one straw; that they have no reputation with the rich, and that they are detested by the common people. Those of his colleagues, therefore, who are opposed to him, need not fear him on this account; and I sincerely believe that they do not. His chance of being Minister appears to me to

consist in this; that it is possible that some of the most powerful of the present Ministers, seeing the state in which things are, and wishing to get away from the approaching responsibility, may, in their new arrangements, insist, even unreasonably, on his exclusion; and that they may do this with the view of having an excuse, if refused, for *retiring themselves*. This I think not impossible. It is certainly what I would do, if I were in their situation. It appears evident, that the whole of his schemes; that the whole of his and Huskisson's measures must be abandoned, or that they must have *the whole mess to themselves*; upon the principle mentioned by Swift:

"Thus, when the dirty flocks once has shown
"His — into the mess, 'tis all his own."

This I think possible; and, then, stand clear! For, then, on comes the system upon us, back stroke and fore stroke, tooth and nail. I mention this as a possibility, without pretending to say that I believe that it will be so; for,

not being jackass enough to pretend even to be able to guess at the thoughts of the King upon the subject, I knew how mighty are these interests which are opposed, and must be opposed, to this man being Prime Minister. He cannot be that and continue that, for any length of time, without having the nobility and the gentry with him; he must, in fact, be their man; or he cannot be Minister. I, then, put it to myself, and suppose that I have a title and a thundering estate: it is against nature that I should not wish to preserve these; and I must be the blindest of all mortals if I do not clearly see, that his being Minister would put them in jeopardy. If there were nothing else, there is the *Catholic Question*; as it is called, which he would be compelled to bring forward and so carry, or keep his place in a state of disgrace, insupportable. He would not have, for a contrary conduct, even the miserable apology of Pitt in 1804, and which apology he repeated the other day;

namely, that he could not stir the question *during the life of the old King*. That apology was not worth a straw; but, at any rate, it implied that, if Pitt had remained Minister until the death of his late Majesty, he was bound to carry the question or to retire from his office. It would never do for Mr. Canning to tell us that he could not stir the question during the life of the present King, for that excuse would be as good in the case of the present King's successor; so that here would be a shuffle the most barefaced that ever was practised, even at the Cocoa-tree or at Newmarket. This would never do. He must bring forward and carry the Catholic Question; or, he must retire. And, to carry that question, what is it, short of taking from the aristocracy a very considerable part of the whole of their estates? For, is there a man of sincerity and sense, who does not see and plainly acknowledge, that an immediate consequence of the carrying of that question would

be a *repeal* of the Church of Ireland; that is to say, a taking away of the whole of the immense property of that Church from that aristocracy who now, in fact, possess it?

I have always stated this. Look into the Register of 1811 and 1812. I there stated that I had no idea of any change in favour of the Catholics which did not include a repeal of the Protestant establishment of Ireland. I have always been for emancipation, as it is called, upon this ground. I know that every thing short of this is delusive. I know that the concession that is now demanded and that it is pretended would be satisfactory, would produce no satisfaction at all. It is not the exclusion from silk-gowns, the exclusion from the seats in Parliament, the exclusion from the Bench and from high ranks in the army and the navy, and from seats in the King's council; it is not these things that affect the millions of Ireland; it is the paying to support a Protestant hierarchy; it is the pay-

ing to support churches of the building of their ancestors to which they never go; it is, in short, the Protestant hierarchy, the dominion of the Protestant clergy: this is the galling thing, and without a riddance from which, no peace will ever be enjoyed in Ireland.

The opponents of Catholic Emancipation, as it is called, maintain that, without going the length which I would go, nothing good would be effected; they insist that to go the length that I would go would be a great evil; the advocates for the Catholic claims affect to agree with them as to the latter; and thus it is that the advocates for the claims are always defeated, not only in the division but in the argument. The speech of the Master of the Rolls, in the late debate, was wholly unanswerable; and, by the bye, the answer of Mr. Canning to that speech, if he had never done any thing else during his whole life-time worthy of disapprobation, was a great deal more than suffi-

cient to prove that he was wholly unfit for a Minister ; for, piqued by the triumphant speech of the Master of the Rolls, what does he do but divulge, and that, too, in the way of jest, an opinion given at the *request of the cabinet council* ! Not an opinion given to himself, by the Attorney and Solicitor-General ; not an opinion given to him, merely as Secretary of State ; but an opinion given to the King's ministers in Council, or, at least, this is what I gather from his own statement in the debate.

The flabbergaster speech-makers in Ireland, and, particularly, the famous Counsellor Bric, whose nuptials my poetical friend has so lately celebrated, have dealt out abundant reproaches upon me, because I said that nobody attempted to answer the speeches of Mr. WETHERELL and Mr. BANKS, made in 1825. They took precisely the same ground as the Master of the Rolls has recently taken. They said, to express their meaning in few words, this emancipation that you ask is

nonsense, unless you mean to upset the Protestant hierarchy. I would upset it, as completely as a brewer's man tumbles down a barrel ; I would *repeal* it just as HARRY the Eighth repealed the Catholic Church ; I would, to use that old buck's very expression, "betake myself to its temporalities," and apply them to far other uses. Messrs. COPLEY, WETHERELL and BANKS say that this would be a terrible evil and wrong. I say that it would be a good and no wrong : they and I have this preliminary question to discuss : if we agree upon that, we can go on ; but, Mr. Canning yields the preliminary point : he concedes to them that the Protestant hierarchy ought to be secured in all its power and all its glory ; and then they beat him so shamefully that he flies in a passion, and, like worsted disputants of the other sex, rips up that which ought always to have remained a secret.

However, if he become Prime Minister, things will be wholly changed with him. If pressed

(and he will not want pressing), he must bring the question forward; he must carry that question; or he must retire. This is so clear, that there can be no doubt about the matter. He has a vast majority against him, amongst all those that have the power to oppose such a measure. To carry the measure, therefore, he must shift the power into other hands; and I see not how he is to do that without abandoning that dearest object of his most tender affections, *Old Sarum*! "I will," said he, in one of his poetically impudent flights, "*I will disfranchise Gram-pound, BECAUSE I will preserve Old Sarum.*" He would not disfranchise Gram-pound because Gram-pound had been proved to be corrupt; but he would disfranchise a borough where there were, perhaps, a hundred or two of electors, because he would preserve a thing called a borough, where there were no electors at all! Yet, this object of his tender affections he must give up; and he must, in short, come and join

us radicals (sorry, no doubt, that Ogden is not alive to embrace him), or he must quit his place; for, carry that Catholic question he never can, unless with radical aid.

This, then, is a pretty sort of man to be a Prime Minister in the present state of things. But, besides this, what is he to do as to these matters of *free-trade*. He has here, not only the aristocracy against him; but the most numerous part of the manufacturers, trade-owners and ship-owners, whom these free-trade projects have plunged into a state of ruin hitherto wholly unknown in England. The whole of the projects have completely failed, while the Trade Minister is receiving an additional two thousand pounds a year for having invented the projects. Mr. Tierney, the other night, drew a most dismal picture of the situation of the country, and this he used as an argument for dispatch in the appointing of a Prime Minister, hinting, at the same time, in no very unintelligi-

ble terms, that Mr. Canning ought to be that Prime Minister. This was pretty enough as a shot at the disapproving colleagues of Mr. Canning; but, Mr. Tierney seems to have forgotten that the figures portrayed in his dismal picture had been, in great part, created by the schemes of that Mr. Canning himself, who has had his full share as well in the remote, as in all the immediate causes of the present sufferings and dangers of the country.

It is plain that the aristocracy do not like Mr. Canning; and, really, when we calmly consider what it is to have a good estate and a title, and how loath men are to put them in jeopardy, one cannot reasonably blame them. Sir THOMAS LETHBRIDGE'S motion for an address to the King seems to be a most suitable answer or counterpart to the speech of Mr. TIERNEY. Mr. Tierney had said that there ought to be formed a cabinet in which there should be *unity of sentiment and principle*; in which the Ministers would pull

together; and that he thought that such a Ministry would be able to save the country. Sir Thomas Lethbridge is, therefore, only acting in accordance with this opinion of Mr. Tierney, when he proposes to address his Majesty to select such a Ministry as shall not be divided in principle. The one wishes for a Ministry that shall be *united*; the other wishes for a Ministry that shall *not be divided*. Mr. Tierney ought, therefore, to support Sir Thomas Lethbridge. Both wish for unity; but, I suspect, that the *means* of accomplishing the object are rather different. Mr. Tierney, I imagine, wishes unity to be produced by his and others cordially joining with Mr. Canning, and, I do believe, that Sir Thomas wishes to prevent division in future, by turning Mr. Canning out of the post which he now fills, and, thus, "set the question at rest for ever." And, what is more, I should not be at all surprised if this were the result; for, it must now be clear to every man of common sense, that

all the schemes of free-trade, of what are called liberal politics ; that all these blandishments bestowed on the settled opponents of his own colleagues ; that all these things put together, all the silly compliments bestowed upon Edinburgh Reviewers, clearly indicate that Mr. Canning means to place *his reliance* upon those who are called the *Whigs*, and that, if pushed from his office, he means to endeavour to regain it (or to get something more) by the assistance of his new allies. This must be plain to every man ; and, that all his schemes of this sort will fail, I am as certain as that I am now sitting at this table.

The faction, on which he means to lean, is wholly without confidence on the part of the public. They have been laughed at for these ten years last past. They are, indeed, scarcely a faction ;

and the whole thing, that used to be called Opposition, is become a mere nothing at all, presenting, in reality, no opposition at all to the Ministry, and being, if possible, still more foolish than the Ministers themselves. Upon the great question of all, the paper-money question, this faction has taken the lead in every thing erroneous and mischievous. In short, the people, almost the whole of the people, despise this faction, this rump of faction, more than they have ever despised any thing of the sort since I have had any knowledge of public affairs. This, therefore, would be a pretty sheet-anchor for a Prime Minister. But, this is a faction, which must eat and drink as well as other factions, and, therefore, to have their assistance, he must give them something for it ; and then, we come back to the story of about two

months ago, of a Ministry to be composed of MR. CANNING, the MARQUIS of LANSDOWN, MR. BROUGHAM, and others of the Whigs. When that venerable old veteran patriot and pensioner, MR. TIERNEY, was talking about an *union* of talents; about a *strong Ministry*; when the venerable old gentleman, who once said, that his constituents of the Borough, had given him a retaining fee for life, to plead against PITT and his principles; when the venerable old gentleman was talking thus, about the country being saved by this sort of *union*, I think it likely that he had running in his head, the very scheme above mentioned, of an union of MR. CANNING and the WHIGS. Besides all the other difficulties, that such a "*strong*" set would have in their way, there would be then, the utter impossibility of returning to Bank restriction and legal tender, without an open and barefaced abandonment of all the principles which these Whigs have been inculcating upon the subject for these last ten years. It would be bad enough if the present set of men were to return to Bank restriction; but, if the Whigs were to do it, they must absolutely be covered with spittle by the people, as completely as poor MR. STANLEY was by the very beautiful girls of *Preston*. The poor Whigs would, too, be destitute of STANLEY'S consolation. He was sure of getting his seat, from the very causes that drew forth the spittle upon him; while, on the contrary, the Whigs would see in the cause of the spittle, the cause also of their losing their places. But it is too monstrous to suppose, that these men would go back to Bank restriction. A

fellow who has stood a half a dozen times in the pillory, would feel horror at the thought of doing such a thing; of doing any thing so flagrantly unprincipled.

Now, though neither Bank restriction, nor any other measure that the wit of man can devise, will save this infernal paper-money system from going to pieces, still there is something, in the time, and something also, in the manner, of its going to pieces; and, as to both these, the Whigs having to do the thing, or, being in place at the time the thing was done, would certainly have a tendency to add to the mischief. They must keep their present law in force; they must proceed, if they be in power, until the whole of the one-pound notes be annihilated; or, at least, driven out of circulation. If there be force in the Government and in the laws

to push the thing on to this extent; if the progress be not interrupted by a general convulsion and breaking up of society, prices will fall so low, the produce of the land will fetch so small a nominal sum, that *no rents at all can or will be paid*. To this point, if convulsion come not before we arrive at it, the Whig fellows, if they be in power, must push the thing on. But, the same sort of necessity does not exist with regard to the *Peelite* fellows, who are not pledged never to return to the paper system. On the contrary, they departed from that system with great reluctance, reluctance which they have expressed over and over again. They are fools for their pains; but, that is no matter. Their returning to the paper, cannot save the thing: the thing must be destroyed, let the Government do what it may;

but, Bank restriction would keep the convulsion away from us for a little while longer, than it can be kept away, if the Whig politics be continued to be acted upon. Every man must die at last; but every man thinks that death always comes too soon. It is natural, therefore, for all those who are thriving under the present infernal system, to wish that system to last. Those who have offices that yield them good pay; those whose relations are fastened upon the taxes; those who have fat livings in their gift or in their possession; in short, the aristocracy, including the Church, the Army and Navy, the Civil List, and never forgetting the horrible Dead Weight: all these persons cannot wish to keep off a total blowing up as long as possible. By a return to the paper, this object might be accomplished for a little

while. Gold would be openly at a premium; two prices would soon come into the market; but, they might not come all at once. When they did come, they would be hardly visible, perhaps, for a few months; and, by judiciously employing the *broad-sheet*, the paper system might be made to carry the thing along for a little while; and, as I have just observed, to this system the *PITTITES* might consistently return; and, indeed, I have not the smallest doubt, that, if the free-trade and cash-payments-gentry were pushed out of the Cabinet, there would be a Bank restriction, even during the present session of Parliament.

This is a most weighty consideration with several of the most important classes of the people. Fundholders, as well as landholders; every body who has property and very little public spirit

(which generally go together in a state of things like this), dreads the final disappearance of the one pound notes. Farmers, traders of all descriptions, public-house keepers, monopolizing brewers, cormorant quakers, army, navy, dead weight, parsons, parsons' wives and daughters; all of them, including placemen, pensioners and sinecure men, women and children : these all *smell* ; they cannot be said to reason about any thing; their faculty of discernment, in a case like this, does not rise higher than merely that of *smelling* ; but, they all smell mischief in the disappearance of the one pound notes, and they look forward to the day of their extinction, as sinners do to the day of judgment. Well they may ! for the extinguishment of those little dirty bits of paper will do that which one would almost believe was beyond the

reach of mortal power, and to be achieved by nothing but Omnipotence ; namely, compel about a hundred thousand tax-eating vagabonds and their families to do that which, as PADDY said, " nature shudders within them but to think of ; " that is to say, **WORK FOR THEIR BREAD !** This is what the vagabonds are afraid of ; this is what all their ingenuity is employed to avoid ; this is what, if they think, your efforts tend to reduce them to ; they would spill your blood with as little remorse as they would spill water out of a bowl. What loads of calumny, what loads of malice, have the Reformers had to endure at the hands of these vagabonds ! In other respects they are like other people ; but, do any thing that has a tendency to compel them to work for their bread, and they cut your throat, if they have it in their power.

All this numerous tribe are for a return to legal tender. They *smell*, that they must work for their bread, if wheat be sold at three or four shillings a bushel. The vagabond fellows of the press, *smell* to the same effect. They *smell*, that there could be no rents paid, if the wheat were to fall to three or four shillings a bushel; and I have so pummelled their thick skulls, as to make them see that this present system could not go on long, if there were no rents. So that, they fear, that the destruction of the one-pound notes will put a stop to their printing and selling their stuff. This fear of theirs has the same foundation as the blood-inspiring, or rather the blood-shed-inspiring terrors of the tax-eaters; both have the same foundation; namely, an inexpressible horror of *being compelled to work*. This is the

cause of these broad-sheeted wretches being so anxious to uphold this system of paper-money, a system productive of mischiefs of all sorts; but, which has for its great characteristic, a constant tendency to enable the insolent, the lazy, the upstarts, the bastardized breed of the country, all the worthless and the children of the worthless to live without labour, upon the fruit of the labour of others. Every wretch that is for this system, no matter in what rank of life; no matter whether male or female; every wretch, that lives, that expects to live, or that wishes to live without labour, out of the fruit of the labour of others, every such wretch smells mischief in the king's coin, and hankers after the paper-money.

A pretty life, therefore, the witty Mr. CANNING and his Whig associates would have to lead, by

the time that the one-pound notes would have been gone for about a fortnight or three weeks. Prices would fall so low, as to ruin every farmer and every trader, whose property consisted chiefly in the value of his stock; but, it is useless to waste one's time, in descriptions relative to the state of the country, in case of such a Ministry, and in case of such measures of perseverance. It is useless to talk about this; for, in all human probability, the whole thing would go to pieces, there would be a general convulsion in the country, aye, and a radical reform into the bargain, before the one-pound notes could wholly disappear. It is useless to waste one's time, in further prophecies about the matter; there is, in my yard, the Gridiron, a portrait of which is at the head of this Register. It is to go up at the front

of the house, No. 182, Fleet-street, whenever one or the other of the following things shall take place:

1. A repeal of Peel's Bill, in whole or in part: 2. A repeal, in the whole or in part, of the Small-note Bill, passed last year: 3. A reduction of the interest of what is called the National Debt, but which I call the Borough and Church Debt. I say that this Debt is due from those who contracted it, and I say, that those who could have nothing to do in contracting it, who had nothing to do, either directly or indirectly, in choosing the persons who made the loans, cannot, therefore, owe this Debt out of their estates or out of their bodies. However, be this as it may, if there be any reduction of the interest of this Debt, or if either of the other measures be adopted, up goes the Gridiron at the office of the Register, there to remain.

as long as the Register itself shall continue to be published, a fac-simile of it being prepared, to be nailed upon my coffin, though I may be permitted to hope, I trust, that the fac-simile will not be wanted for some time yet to come. I am determined to have my revenge, my full measure, if I can get it, upon a system which has done so much mischief to my country in general, and has been the cause of such persecution to myself in particular.

I do not care a straw, with regard to this grand affair, who is the Minister, or what measures he may adopt: I know that nothing but acting upon *Norfolk Petition*, can possibly prevent the result which I contemplate. There is a notion, that the thing may be eked out; it may be pushed along, from hand to mouth, by a succession of bills to extend the

time of putting out the one-pound notes. There is a notion, that by thus keeping an abolition bill constantly hanging over the heads of the paper-money makers, they will be held so much in check as to prevent them from issuing such quantities of paper as would drive the gold out of the country. In other words, that the thing might be thus gently pushed along so as not to produce any great fall from the present prices. This is the notion that I believe the Ministers entertain. Greatly do they deceive themselves; and, if they did not, the very best that they can hope, is, *that things may remain in their present state; a state as nearly approaching to an open defiance of the laws of property, as any state well can be.* That which used to be called theft or robbery, now scarcely goes by that name. In the neigh-

bourhood of even this well-fed
WEN itself, scarcely a family
can be said to go to bed in safety.

In the country things are infinitely
worse; and yet, if the present
law continue in force, that which

we now behold is a state of
peace, plenty and safety, com-
pared with that which we shall

behold, *this day two years*, on
which day (this being the 5th

of April) those truly infernal ma-
chines, the one-pound notes, are,

as the law now stands, to cease to
exist in England. So that, again,

I say that, as to this matter, which
is of consequence greater than all

other matters put together, it sig-
nifies not, with regard to the result,

who is the Minister, but it signi-
fies something with regard to *time*;

and, for the reasons that I have
before stated, I look upon Mr.

CANNING as a man to hasten the
total destruction of the paper-sys-

tem. I am, therefore, for Mr.

CANNING: but, for the reasons
which I have given, I think that

those will be against him who, at
present, have the power to let

him in or to keep him out.

There is one thing, at any rate,
of pleasing novelty; and that is,

that we have now a candidate for
the Premiership, who would fain

make his appeal to the *people*;

this is a novelty in the workings
of the Thing. To the *people*, I

would say, *praise nobody*; keep
your praises for your own use;

bestow praise upon no pretender
to liberal principles, until he dis-

tinctly declare his *hostility* to
Gatton and Old Sarum. The

breaking up of the paper-system
will, in all likelihood, be so po-

tent in itself, as to prevent even
the folly of the people themselves

from making them stop short of a
real radical reform; but, if the

people, having the power to effect such reform, were to neglect this opportunity to effect it, they would deserve, every man of them, and their children after them, to be the most wretched of all the slaves that ever disgraced the face of the earth. As far as the people have recently gone, in their petitions and speeches, they have acted wisely; they have called for reduction of taxes, for disbanding of soldiers, for legal application of Church property to other purposes; for equitable adjustment of contracts; and, as a security against future extravagance, future enormous debts, and future evils of all sorts, they have called for a change in the manner of choosing those who make the laws: in other words, they have called for that reform in the Commons' House of Parliament, of which **MR. CANNING**, throughout the

whole of his life, has been an implacable enemy. Let the people keep on in this sensible course: let the King, as is his prerogative, choose his Ministers, and let the people never cease to endeavour to recover their right of choosing their representatives in Parliament.

WM. COBBETT.

DUKE OF YORK.

THE dead can wait, or else the deuce is in it. Several correspondents have begged me to *consider* well before I write upon this subject. I considered very well even before I talked of writing upon it; and that these correspondents will see, whenever I shall find time and room for doing justice to the matter. The living are rather too busy and bustling just at this

time to leave me any spare hours wherein to deal with the dead; but, I will deal, and will deal fairly, too, with the history of the **DUKE OF YORK**: I will not, whatever others may choose to do, suffer myself and my readers to be insulted, and to submit in silence to such loads of insults from the miserable parasites of the press.

AMERICAN KIDNEY BEANS.

I HAVE two sorts of these, the finest that ever were in England; one of them the very earliest that I ever saw; and the seed, in both cases, so ripe, sound, and excellent, that a large crop from it is certain.—One sort is *Yellow*, the other *Speckled*; both are dwarfs.—
Price—17s. a bushel, and smaller

quantities in proportion; with something added for paper, string, and trouble.—They are sold at the Office of the Register, No. 183, Fleet Street, and may be sent, by order, to any part of the country.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

To the Gentleman who was good enough to remind me of a piece of bad grammar in the Register, I have to say, “between you and me,” Sir, I wish that there might be, one of these days, two Registers running without a grammatical error in either; for that is, upon my honour, what I never yet saw, though nobody can be more mortified than I am, when I perceive such errors after it is too late.

Just published, price 1s. 6d.

The Second Edition.

A MEMOIR addressed to the SOCIETY OF ARTS, on the PLANTING and REARING of FOREST TREES. By W. WITHERS, Jun. With an Appendix, containing Tables for ascertaining the progressive Annual Increase in the Growth of Trees.

"This excellent little Pamphlet is worthy of the attention of every Landowner in England. Mr. Withers has made divers experiments, and he has given an account of them in a manner, with a degree of public

spirit, that do him great honour as well in his character of planter as in that of an Englishman: it being manifest that he can have no motive but that of the good of his country and of his countrymen in general. His account is short, neat, plain, unassuming, and full of interest."—*Weekly Register*, Nov. 25, 1826.

Published by Longman and Co., Paternoster-Row, and to be had at the Office of the Register, 183, Fleet Street; at Ridgway's, Piccadilly, and of all other Booksellers.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending March 23.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat ..	56	10	Rye	38	8
Barley ..	37	1	Beans ...	48	3
Oats	30	5	Pease ...	49	9

Total Quantity of Corn returned as Sold in the Maritime Districts, for the week ended March 23.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	40,335	Rye	216
Barley ..	20,447	Beans	3,069
Oats ...	12,996	Pease	1,079

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, March 24.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wheat..	3,938 for 11,723	16	9	Average,	59	6
Barley..	3,332 ..	6,429	9	9.....	38	7
Oats..	4,316 ..	7,105	6	4.....	32	11
Rye....	— ..	0	0	0.....	0	0
Beans..	842 ..	1,908	11	9.....	45	4
Pease..	547 ..	1,122	17	0.....	49	1

Friday, March 30.—There have been fair arrivals this week of every description of Grain, and a considerable quantity of Flour. Prime Wheat has sold freely at Monday's prices; other kinds are very dull. Barley is unaltered. Beans and Pease meet a heavy trade, at last quotations. Oats are so extremely dull, that 1s. per quarter abatement has been submitted to.

Monday, April 2.—The quantities of all sorts of Grain reported last week were tolerably good, and of Flour considerable. This morning the fresh supply of Wheat, Barley, Beans, and Pease, from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, are moderate, and only a few English and Foreign vessels up with Oats and Beans. Superfine samples of Wheat are scarce, and readily command last quotations, but there is a heavy trade for all other descriptions.

The best parcels of Barley have obtained an advance of 1s. per quarter on last quotations, with no alteration in other kinds. Beans, of good quality, are more in demand than of late, and they are 1s. per quarter higher; but this improvement does not extend to foreign samples. Pease, of both kinds, are unaltered. There is so very limited a demand for Oats, that all sorts may be quoted 1s. per quarter cheaper, with a very slow sale, even at this decline, for Feed parcels. The Flour trade continues very heavy.

Price on board Ship as under.

Flour, per sack	46s. — 50s.
— Seconds	42s. — 44s.
— North Country ..	40s. — 44s.

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. Loaf is stated at 9d. by the full-priced Bakers.

Account of Wheat, &c. arrived in the Port of London, from March 26 to March 31, both inclusive.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	4,873	Tares	83
Barley ..	3,355	Linseed ..	—
Malt	7,712	Rapeseed ..	10
Oats	5,976	Brank ..	46
Beans ...	1,477	Mustard ..	—
Flour	10,051	Flax	—
Rye	25	Hemp	10
Pease	548	Seeds ...	14

Foreign.—Wheat, 539; Oats, 4,156; and Beans, 426 quarters.

Monday, April 2.—The arrivals from Ireland last week were, 2,515 firkins of Butter, and 4,000 bales of Bacon; and from Foreign Ports, 3,032 casks of Butter.

HOPS.

Price of Hops, per Cwt. in the Borough.

Monday, April 2.—Nothing doing in the Hop Trade. Prices rather lower.

Maidstone, March 29.—The Hop Market continues in the same dull state, and we do not look for much alteration until the appearance of the bine.

COAL MARKET, March 30.

Ships at Market. Ships sold. Price.

57½ Newcastle 20½. : 29s. 6d. to 38s. 3d.

12 Sunderland 6½ .. 38s. 0d.—39s. 0d.

SMITHFIELD.

Monday, April 2.—There was no alteration on Friday in the Beef Trade, but Mutton sold at advancing terms. To-day the supply of Beasts is pretty good, and the greater proportion consists of Scots, the best of which make a crown, though not many are in a condition to command so much. Sheep obtain more money than on Friday, and are dearer by 4d. a stone than on this day se'n night, with a free demand. A few very superior Old Downs have obtained 5s. 6d.; and the few choice Leicesters at market 5s. 4d. in their wool. A pen or two of half-breds, as good as any thing here, could not obtain so high a bid as 5s. 4d. Old Ewes, and other ordinary Sheep, have partaken only in a limited degree of the improvement. Lamb is coming tolerably plentiful, and is quoted at 6s. to 7s. per stone.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	4	0	to	5 0
Mutton ...	4	4	—	5 4
Veal	4	10	—	5 8
Pork	4	8	—	5 4
Lamb	6	0	—	7 0
Beasts . . .	2,330		Sheep ..	16,490
Calves ...	128		Pigs ...	140

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	4	to	4 8
Mutton ...	4	0	—	4 8
Veal	3	4	—	5 4
Pork	3	8	—	5 8
Lamb	0	0	—	0 0

LEADENHALL, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef ...	3	8	to	4 4
Mutton . .	3	8	—	4 8
Veal	4	0	—	5 4
Pork	4	8	—	5 8
Lamb	0	0	—	0 0

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS, per Ton.

	l.	s.	l.	s.
Ox-Nobles.....	4	0	to	0 0
Middlings.....	2	10	—	3 0
Chats.....	2	0	—	0 0
Common Red..	0	0	—	0 0
Onions, 0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.				

BOROUGH, per Ton.

	l.	s.	l.	s.
Ox-Nobles.....	3	10	to	4 0
Middlings.....	2	10	—	0 0
Chats.....	2	0	—	0 0
Common Red..	3	10	—	4 0

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay....80s. to 115s.

Straw...40s. to 45s.

Clover...100s. to 125s.

St. James's.—Hay....84s. to 125s.

Straw .. 37s. to 48s.

Clover . 126s. to 125s.

Whitechapel.—Hay....75s. to 115s.

Straw...36s. to 42s.

Clover..84s. to 125s.

AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN, sold in the Maritime Counties of
England and Wales, for the Week ended March 23, 1827.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
London*.....	60	1	38	1	32	5
Essex	60	6	35	11	31	3
Kent.....	55	11	39	2	29	8
Sussex.....	55	3	40	5	29	0
Suffolk	56	0	34	8	30	1
Cambridgeshire.....	52	7	32	7	26	7
Norfolk	54	9	34	10	30	6
Lincolnshire	56	5	39	8	27	2
Yorkshire	55	9	40	8	31	1
Durham	55	1	42	0	33	2
Northumberland	54	3	37	6	33	10
Cumberland	63	4	38	1	35	6
Westmoreland	63	9	46	0	37	7
Lancashire	61	6	42	0	36	11
Cheshire	59	3	49	0	35	5
Gloucestershire.....	59	1	43	1	37	9
Somersetshire	50	5	39	5	29	9
Monmouthshire.....	59	11	49	1	0	0
Devonshire.....	56	7	38	2	37	4
Cornwall	57	3	37	4	37	4
Dorsetshire	55	6	37	10	35	1
Hampshire	67	2	38	4	31	9
North Wales	61	10	43	7	32	0
South Wales	58	2	40	10	27	3

* The London Average is always that of the Week preceding.

Bristol, March 31.—The Corn markets here continue very dull, except for prime Barley, which is advanced full 1s. per quarter since this day week, the supply of which article is short. Present prices are nearly as follows:—Wheat, from 6s. to 7s. 6d.; Barley, 4s. 4d. to 5s. 10½d.; Beans, 5s. 6d. to 8s. 3d.; Oats, 2s. 1½d. to 4s.; and Malt, 6s. to 8s. per bushel, Imperial. Flour, Seconds, 33s. to 43s. per bag.

Derby, March 31.—Grain sold at our market, as below:—Best Wheat, 58s. to 63s.; Barley for Malting, 44s. to 48s.; Grinding ditto, 38s. to 42s.; Oats, 38s. to 44s.; Feed ditto, 30s. to 36s.; and Beans, 56s. to 63s., per eight bushels Imperial.

Guildford, March 31.—Wheat, new, for mealing, 14l. to 17l. per load. Barley, 38s. to 42s.; Oats, 33s. to 44s.; Beans, 54s. to 58s.; Pease, grey, 60s. to 64s.; ditto, boilers, 62s. to 64s. per quarter. Tares, 12s. per bushel.

Horncastle, March 31.—No alteration in the prices of Wheat; Oats, and Pease; Rye and Barley something better; Beans lower than this day week.—Wheat, from 52s. to 56s.; Barley, 40s. to 42s.; Oats, 30s. to 38s.; Pease, 60s.; Beans, 55s. to 60s.; and Rye from 40s. to 42s. per quarter.

Ipswich, March 31.—We had to-day a small supply of all Grain. Barley was 1s. per qr. dearer; other Grain much as last week. Prices as follow:—Wheat, 52s. to 62s.; Barley, 35s. to 40s.; Beans, 45s. to 47s.; and Pease, 48s. per quarter.

Manchester, March 31.—There has been nothing material passing in the Corn trade during the week. At our market to-day we had a full attendance of country dealers, &c., and fine Wheats fully support last week's rates, while the inferior (of which there was a considerable quantity offering from Yorkshire) could not be disposed of, at a reduction of 2d. to 3d. per bushel of 70lbs. Barley for grinding in request, at the prices of this day se'nnight. Oats were in better demand, at an advance of ½d. to 1d. per 45lbs. There is a good demand for Boiling Pease, at 3d. to 6d. per bushel advance. The holders of fine Malts are demanding rather more money, which is only complied with by necessitous buyers. Flour continues dull, at last week's rates.

Newcastle-on-Tyne, March 31.—We had a good supply of Wheat from the farmers, and having had, through the week, some arrivals coastwise, the market was well supplied this morning, but the millers are short of stock, and they bought freely, at 1s. per qr. advance. Rye continues in demand, at former prices. Malting Barley is very scarce, and the first arrivals will, probably, sell at higher prices than the above quotations. Malt dull sale. A considerable arrival of white Pease, has caused a decline of 3s. per quarter on that article. We had a good supply of Oats, which was sold at fully last week's prices.

Norwich, March 31.—The supply of Wheat to-day was but small, and rather dearer.

Reading, March 31.—We had a better supply of Wheat at our market this day, the general quality of which was rough; the sale was dull, at much the same prices as last week.—Old Wheat, 58s. to 68s.; New ditto, 56s. to 66s. by the Imperial measure. There was a short supply of Barley; the demand was good, and prices advanced 1s. to 2s. per quarter. Oats met a brisk sale, at last week's prices. In Beans and Peas no alteration.

Wakefield, March 30.—We have a large supply of Wheat this morning; good dry samples sell very slowly, at last week's prices, and all other descriptions are very dull.

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Horncastle, March 31.—Beef, 8s. per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton, 8d.; Pork, 8d.; and Veal, 8d. to 9d. per lb.

Manchester Smithfield Market, March 28.—The prices of Beef and Mutton have advanced $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per lb., and the best fat things were soon taken off at the advance, while the lean sorts were dull in sale, there being a considerable quantity sent to market on account of the high price of feed and scarcity of money. Veal and Pork were about $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per lb. lower than last week.—Beef, $5\frac{3}{4}$ d. to 8d.; Mutton, 7d. to $8\frac{1}{4}$ d.; Veal, 5d. to $6\frac{1}{4}$ d.; and Pork, 4d. to $5\frac{1}{4}$ d. per lb. sinking offal.

At *Morpeth Market*, March 28, there was a good supply of Cattle and Sheep; there being a great demand, fat of the former sold readily, at an advance in price; the latter met with rather dull sale, at a reduction.—Beef, from 6s. to 7s. 3d.; and Mutton, 7s. 6d. to 8s. 6d. per stone, sinking offal.

Norwich Castle Meadow, March 31.—We had a good supply of fat Cattle to this market, and more money was asked for them, but not complied with; prices 7s. 6d. to 8s. per stone of 14 lbs. sinking offal; the supply of Store Stock was also large; Scots sold for 3s. 9d. to 4s. per stone of 14 lbs., what they will weigh when fat; only a few of inferior Shorthorns at 3s.; Cows and Calves, and Homebreds, of one and two years old, almost unsaleable, on account of the great scarcity of keeping. Meat: Beef, $6\frac{3}{4}$ d. to $8\frac{1}{4}$ d.; Veal, 6d. to 8d.; Mutton, 6d. to $7\frac{1}{4}$ d.; Lamb, 10d.; and Pork, 6d. to 8d. per lb.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

VOL. 62.—No. 3.] LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 14, 1827. [Price 6d.

Published every Saturday Morning, at Seven o' Clock.



“ They flattered him with their mouth, and lied.”

Psalm lxxviii. v. 36.

DUKE OF YORK.

Kensington, 10th April, 1827.

SEEING the situation of public affairs of this country at this time; seeing how many subjects there are of great and pressing public interest: seeing, in short, that those of us who are alive, cannot, in a much greater proportion than one out of twenty, say that he has the fair means of decent existence within his reach; seeing that every man of considerable pro-

perty, if he be also a man of sense, is, and must be, in a continual state of anxiety with regard to the fate of that property; and with regard to children and other dependants, for whom that property is intended to provide; seeing these things; I have felt, and I still feel, the greatest reluctance to occupy my pages, and the time of my readers, by observations relative to the dead. But, there

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Printed and Published by WILLIAM COBBETT, No. 183, Fleet-street,
[ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.]

are occasions, when it is absolutely necessary, for the sake of the survivors, to speak of those who are no more. One of these occasions now presents itself, and extorts from me, that which I am about to write. If that which is said of the dead, could do no mischief to the living; if it be not calculated to give a wrong bias to men's minds; in such case, as that which is said of the dead can do no harm to the living, these latter may well pass it by without notice. But, when the contrary is manifestly the case; when that which is said of the dead is clearly calculated to mislead the mass of the nation; to make it believe that which is not true; to induce them to trust to some other means of obtaining high character, than the means to be found in their integrity, valour, public spirit, and other virtues; when that which is said of the dead, naturally tends to make men disregard the use of the only means by which high character ought to be maintained; when that which is said of the

dead has a natural and inevitable tendency to make the mass of mankind believe, that it signifies not what you do during your life; that you are sure of posthumous fame, if you do but so act, as to be sure to provide yourself with eulogists after your death: when that which is said of the dead has and must have this tendency, then the man, who is so situated as to be able to make a probably successful effort, in counteracting that which is said of the dead, may, perhaps, if he hold his peace, be neither knave nor coward; but, it would be full as well for his country if he were both,

Therefore, clear as it is to me, that that which has been said, written, and published, relative to the late Duke of York, has, and inevitably must have, this mischievous tendency, I should be ashamed of myself, if I did not, at any rate, make an effort to counteract it.

I am not disposed to criticise any part of the Duke's character or conduct, in a manner, which

could possibly merit the epithet severe. But, justice demands, that I expose the baseness of the flatterers of his memory, without, however, insinuating, that he himself, would have approved by anticipation of such immeasurable baseness. The newspapers of England are, unquestionably, the vilest of all human productions; but, in this case, they have been more vile even than usual. They have gone beyond the settled infamy of their character. Their columns are always open for sale, and the reptiles who have filled them in this case have been dealers, to a greater extent, than perhaps was ever before known in the whole of the history of this species, of traffic. They have represented the object of their eulogiums as *every thing perfect in man*; particularly as *a saint and a hero*. They have represented him as the most humane, the most upright, the most industrious, the most public spirited, of mortal men. These base flatterers think, that they know very well, what they are

about: they think to imitate the Innkeepers of Oxford, that is to say, "make the *living pay for the dead*." They ought certainly not to succeed in so villanous an enterprise, but, their success or their failure, is a mere trifle, compared with the mischievous effect, that their base and lying praises are calculated to have upon the nation at large, and particularly upon those young men, who are now coming upon the stage, and whose opinions and principles must eventually have so great an effect on the happiness or misery of the nation. If these praises of the DUKE of YORK be suffered to pass without comment, who shall say that a young man will do wrong if he endeavour, or, permit himself to imitate the life and actions of the DUKE of YORK? If these praises be proper, then the DUKE is a model for all men to imitate. Would it, then, be a good thing, if all men were to imitate the DUKE of YORK? All men, literally speaking, cannot; for all men are not *Dukes*; nor,

are they in many other situations in which this DUKE was. But all men have dealings and contracts with their fellow-subjects; and, would it be good for *all* men to imitate his ROYAL HIGHNESS in this capacity? I do not pretend to say, what the DUKE's debts are, or are not. I copy the following paragraph from the Morning Chronicle of to-day.

"We are sorry to learn that
 "the affairs of the DUKE of YORK
 "are likely to turn out very indif-
 "ferent as respects the simple
 "contract creditors—hardly *one*
 "*shilling in the pound* being likely
 "to fall to their share. This has
 "not arisen from any failure in the
 "sales of property that have taken
 "place, which have realised full
 "as much as was expected, but
 "from the immense amount of
 "liens on that property, and of
 "*bona fide* bond securities, all of
 "which must be satisfied before
 "the other creditors are paid a
 "farthing. These bonds, it is
 "said, exceed *two hundred thou-*
 "*sand pounds*!"

This may be false; and, as I find it in a newspaper, it is but fair to suppose that it is; but, if it be but a nineteenth twentieth part of the truth, let me ask whether this is an *example* to hold up to the nation, the debtor having had, constantly, during his whole lifetime, an income so great, that it is impossible for common men to conceive, by what means it could be expended. Here were no mischances, no accidents, no failure in mercantile enterprize, no event to drive the debtor from the regular receipt of his enormous income, the amount of which he always knew, and always was sure regularly to receive. What excuse, therefore, for debt at all; and what answer to give to those numerous persons who must be sufferers from such debt?

All men are not princes and military commanders, but all men are, or are liable to be, *husbands*; and, would it be a good thing if, in that capacity, *all* men were to imitate the DUKE of YORK? I will allude to no rumours; I will

proceed upon no scandalous stories; nothing like cant shall mark what I have to say of the DUKE of YORK; but, when I hear these profligate, these most mercenary ruffians of the press proclaim him to the nation as a sort of Saint, shall I not refer my readers to the *evidence* taken before the house of Commons in the year 1809? Shall I not bid them read that *evidence*? Shall I not bid them look at the *proof* relative to the open, the undisguised connexion with MOTHER CLARKE, while the DUKE had living, a wife, the daughter of a king, the sister of a king, a woman of unimpeachable character in all respects; a woman remarkable for the gentleness of her manners, and for all those qualities and characteristics which made it cruel to the last degree, to inflict a sting in her bosom. Had she been otherwise than strictly virtuous; had she been a virago; had she been a notorious squanderer; wasting the substance of her husband: had she been any of these, less, and much less would

have been said on the subject. She was none of them, and her gentleness, and regard for her husband's character and feelings was so great, that she made it a point of appearing in public with him, at a moment when all the world were turning their backs upon him, though the cause of his disgrace was that very connexion which was calculated to inspire her with the most anxious desire to obtain revenge. One cannot tell any thing about the *mere personal* attachments in such case; but the DUCHESS of YORK had to bear the *pity*, not only of this nation, but of a great part of the civilized world; and *pity* is a thing which we do not endure very patiently, particularly when we are in situations, where the very existence of it implies that we are in a fallen state. I scorn, as I always did scorn, cant, upon the subject of MOTHER CLARKE; but, let the eulogists of the DUKE of YORK tell us plainly, if they dare, that the man who was the subject of the investigation of 1809, and the sub-

ject of the votes of the House of Commons in that year; let those eulogists tell us, if they dare, that it would be a good thing, for all men to imitate the DUKE OF YORK as a husband: which, be it observed, is one, at any rate, of the great capacities of human life.

Perhaps those eulogists are of opinion, that to pursue that which is generally called *gaming* has nothing amiss in it. Certainly the thing is common enough, and all that we have heard, relative to this subject, as far as the DUKE was concerned, may possibly be false. If so, however, these eulogists have shown themselves to be very stupid or very insincere friends; for, they have made no attempt to wipe from his memory, that which was by no means an object of admiration with the wise and virtuous part of the people. They seem to me to have been sensible they were writing a romance, or they would, at any rate, have attempted to palliate the practice so generally imputed to the DUKE. The newspaper ref-

fians are, generally speaking, addicted to this practice themselves, as far as their means will allow them: it is a practice congenial with the natural turn of their minds: they are penned up amidst swarms of men, and they naturally resort to stimulants of this kind. But, this is not the case with the nation at large: this is not the case with a far greater part of persons in the middle rank of life, nor is it the case with the far greater part of those who move in a higher sphere. These eulogists, then; these lavish-ers of indiscriminating praise, must, to be consistent, boldly assert that it would be a good thing, if every one followed the example of the DUKE in this practice, so generally, whether justly or unjustly, imputed to him.

For my part, I can discover nothing "*tangible*," in this praise bestowed upon the DUKE. CHARLES YORKS very indiscreetly called upon WINDLE to bring forward his charges against the DUKE and

"tangible shape." That worthy ex-Secretary of State and present sinecure placeman, soon found the shape tangible enough. I have endeavoured to find something equally tangible in the praises bestowed upon the Duke; but have been enabled to find nothing of the kind. A monstrous deal about his filial affection, forgetting, I suppose, that he had a grant of 10,000*l.* a year (in addition to all his other sources of enormous income), merely for the trouble of visiting his aged father once in a week or ten days! How much better it would have been if these injudicious friends had been sensible and honest: if, by way of apology or excuse for the taking of this great sum from the nation, they had said, that the Duke stood in need of the money, and that (which I really suppose to be the truth, because it is against nature to suppose the contrary); if he had no money at all for doing it, he would have watched over his father (who, by the bye, had been most particularly kind and good

to him), as cheerfully and diligently as if he had been allowed for his trouble a million a year. At any rate, however, he did receive the 10,000*l.* a year, until the death of his father; and, be it remarked, that the amount so received by him, now makes part of that enormous debt, which is pressing this people to the earth; which makes millions rise every morning not knowing how or where to breakfast; which threatens with beggary even the most wealthy of the community; which renders all men's affairs so uncertain; which, in numerous instances, makes life a burthen; and which, let the military geniuses think what they may, puts every institution in jeopardy.

To talk of the Duke's generosity is, therefore, to suppose that we have all lost our memories, or, that those memories have become so short, that they do not carry us back beyond the space of five or six years. The great burthen of praise, is, however, the surprising kindness of the Duke. He did so

many "*keind things*," which word "*keind*" these whiskered, pigeon-cropped and shoulder-padded eulogists pronounce in an accent, partaking of a puke and a lisp. They make me sick, at any rate. He was so "*keind* a soul!" Not so very "*keind*" to poor Queen Caroline, at any rate, though one would have thought, that there were, in the history of his own life, several incidents, that might have induced so singularly a "*keind*" hearted man, to judge her with great lenity, even though he had believed her fully guilty of every thing laid to her charge. Having mentioned the late unfortunate Queen, I will also mention a letter which I have received from a lady, in consequence of the intimation of my resolution, to notice this shameless flattery heaped upon the Duke of York. She mentions, amongst other things, the fate which has befallen the most conspicuous enemies of that unfortunate Queen. She notices that the triumph (if triumph it were) arising from her death,

was of short duration in the case of Castlereagh; she notices also, the short-lived honours of Lord Gifford; and she does not forget, that it is not yet seven years since Lord Liverpool ordered her body to be carried round the new road. This is the way in which a lady, writing in a manner as elegant as I ever saw, views the occurrences relating to the men who stood most prominent of all, in the prosecution of the unfortunate Queen. The Duke of York did not take a very prominent part upon that occasion. There was nothing peculiarly bitter in his hostility; but, a very large part of the nation will say, let the vile newspapers publish what they will, that that was an occasion, on which for him to show that tender feeling, that genuine humanity, that gallant generosity which set self at defiance, and of all which these eulogists pretend the Duke had a store so prodigious.

To return, however, to his excessive "*keindness*," I have, when I was able to overcome the effect

of the compound *puck* and *lisp*; when I have been able to overcome the disgust excited by the sound of this word, which is pronounced by a drawing down of the under jaw and by a gape, nearly wide enough to show you the root of an ugly tongue; when I have been able to overcome the disgust excited by this sound and this sight, I have sometimes asked, "Do tell me what are your proofs of this *kindness*." "Oh! he did so many *kind* things; he gave so many *meritorious* persons good posts; got a regulation to enable old half-pay officers to sell their commissions to young ones; to enable half-pay officers to become parsons; to submit to a '*call*' to take upon them the care of souls, and to keep their half-pay at the same time; he was so *good*! made so many families happy: made them so comfortably off!"

In short, I always found, that the Duke was "*kind*" to excess to every body, but to those toiling millions who have to pay the

taxes. His "*kindness*" consisted, in fact, in enabling idlers to live well upon the toil of embarrassed farmers and tradesmen and half-starving journeymen and labourers. Now, mind, I do not accuse the Duke of doing this wilfully. On the contrary, I am quite convinced he was not doing it at all! I am quite convinced, that he never, in the whole course of his life, bestowed a thought on the effect of taxation; that he never reflected, and never thought it his duty to reflect, whence the money came, and that he thought, that if he, as far as related to himself and his office, distributed it pretty fairly, that was all he had to do with the matter. I am ready to acknowledge, that, from what I have heard, it always appeared to be his natural disposition to relieve the distresses of the military people, and to gratify the wishes of any, or all them, who made their application to him. But, what great praise is this, when no part of the millions came out of his own pocket?

It is said, that he greatly improved the discipline of the English army. Had the Duke been a friend of mine, I should have preferred to say of him, that he greatly reduced the numbers of the English army. England did very well for a *thousand years* without such a thing as a standing army being known, or so much as thought of. It is said, that, the state of the world is altered, and that, if other nations have standing armies, England must have them, too. Those who say this, appear to forget that the other nations of Europe had all of them, standing armies; that France, for instance, had a thundering standing army, over which so many victories were gained by the raw levies raised in England by the Norman kings.

It is only since the Duke of YORK became Commander-in-Chief that there has appeared a settled design to have a great standing army always in England, with all the dresses and manners of a continental army. If you call it an improvement in disci-

pline, to do every thing that can possibly be done to make the hired soldiers a body, *wholly distinct from the people*; to diminish the two as much as possible; to create an army, which shall be precisely the reverse of what Judge Blackstone says is congenial to the English constitution; if you call this an improvement of the discipline of the army, then the DUKE OF YORK has been as great an improver as ever lived. I must, however, do him the justice to say, that all the items of this system of improvement originated in heads widely different from his. I am far from believing that he was the inventor of that *military academy*, which is stuck upon a wild heath, cut off from all communication with towns and villages, and in which you see little boys of ten or twelve years of age, dressed in military uniform, to be trained to be officers in the army, to be kept in a sort of military discipline all the while, to be thus kept distinct from the mass of the people, to

have no notion of any sort of obedience, except that due to a military chief, and thus to be made, to all intents and purposes, precisely that description of soldier, which Blackstone describes as wholly incompatible with civil liberty. "In a land of liberty," says he, "it is extremely dangerous to make a distinct order of the profession of arms. In absolute monarchies, this is necessary for the safety of the prince, and arises from the main principle of their constitution, which is that of governing by fear: but, in free states, the profession of a soldier, taken singly, and merely as a profession, is justly an object of jealousy. In these, no man should take up arms, but with a view to defend his country and its laws: he puts not off the citizen, when he enters the camp; but it is because he is a citizen, and would wish to continue so, that he makes himself for a while a soldier. The laws, therefore, and constitution of

these kingdoms, know no such state as that of a perpetual standing soldier, bred up to no other profession than that of war; and it was not till the reign of Henry VII. that the Kings of England had so much as a guard about their persons." "Nothing ought to be more guarded against, in a free state, than making the military power, when such a one is necessary to be kept on foot, *a body too distinct from the people.* LIKE OURS, therefore, it should wholly be composed of *natural subjects*; it ought only to be enlisted for a short and limited time; *the soldiers also should live intermixed with the people; no separate camp, NO BARRACKS, no inland fortresses, should be allowed.* And perhaps it might be still better, if, by dismissing a stated number and enlisting others at every renewal of their term, a circular motion could be kept up between

"the army and the people, and
 "the citizen and the soldier be
 "more intimately connected to-
 "gether." — *Blackstone's Com-*
mentaries, Book I. Chap. 13.

These are the principles which
 were inculcated by a lawyer, not
 at all enthusiastic in the cause of
 freedom. He was Solicitor-Ge-
 neral to the late Queen. Of course
 he was a thorough-paced courtier ;
 yet, only fifty-seven years ago, these
 were the principles inculcated by
 him. Precisely the contrary of
 these principles, have been the
 organization, the management,
 the discipline, the control over,
 the uses made of, and the whole
 of the circumstances connected
 with the army and its character,
 ever since the DUKE of YORK be-
 came Commander-in-Chief of that
 army. Here we are told, that it
 is dangerous to public liberty to
 make the profession of arms a dis-
 tinct profession, and, that the
 making of it a distinct profession,
 is grounded on the principle of the
 necessity of governing by fear.
 Here we are told, that the happy

constitution of England *knows of*
no such state as that of a soldier
bred up to no other station but
that of war. And, England now
 beholds the military profession
 made a distinct and a most dis-
 tinct order ; and she beholds a
 most expensive and palace like
 academy or college, or whatever
 else they may call it, stuck up in the
 midst of a wild and barren heath,
 to hold little boys, who, very soon
 after the clouts are taken from
 them, are dressed in military uni-
 form, put under a species of mili-
 tary discipline, kept almost as
 distinct from the people as if they
 were monks of La Trappe ; " bred
 up to no other profession than that
 of war ;" and thus hurling con-
 temptuous defiance in the teeth of
 what Blackstone tells us to look
 upon as the essential principles
 of the constitution. In this book
 of our laws we are told, that the
 army should *never be a body too*
distinct from the people ; that it
 should *contain no foreigners ;* that
 the soldiers should live *intermixed*
with the people ; that there ought

to be no BARRACKS, and none of those crafty devices, which are calculated to keep the soldiers and the people in a constant state of jealousy of each other. Since the DUKE of YORK became Commander-in-Chief, every possible device seems to have been practised to keep the soldiers distinct from the people; and, as to foreigners, the law itself has, in innumerable instances, been wholly disregarded by giving them commissions in our army of natives.

As I said before, I am far from imputing the *invention* of this change to the DUKE of YORK; but, if he be not to have this invention imputed to him, he is to have nothing imputed to him relative to the army. If by *military discipline* be meant a separating of the soldiers from the people; dressing them out in a manner to make them as unlike the people as possible; introducing amongst them every thing in imitation of the armies of the *despots* of the continent; if this be to improve

the discipline of the army; then it has been improved, and greatly improved, under the Duke of York; but if improvement of discipline mean an addition made to those qualities of the soldier, which render him more efficient for the purposes of war and more inoffensive and less dangerous to public liberty, when at home and not engaged in war; then I deny that the DUKE of YORK has improved the discipline of the English army. It is pretty impudent to be sure; not more impudent perhaps, not more insulting to the common sense of the nation, than any one of a dozen other things which these base flatterers have said of the DUKE of YORK; not more impudent and insolent perhaps; but, certainly, nothing can well equal in impudence and insolence, the barefaced falsehood, the stupid lie, that the victories obtained by the English army during the late war, are to be ascribed to the discipline taught by the Duke of York! However, these base flatterers seem to forget that the vic-

ories, as they are called (and for which we are now paying most dearly), were occasionally interspersed with defeats, or, as they were called about seven and twenty years ago, "negative successes," an appellation to which the achievements of this same great commander actually gave rise. I shall, by-and-bye, have to speak somewhat at length of these achievements; and then those who were born after the date of the achievements will have a full explanation, a practical and frequently repeated illustration of the phrase "*negative success*," in the obtaining of successes of which sort, his Royal Highness certainly surpassed any commander from the days of the Moabites to those of the Dutch.

But, as to the merit of these, "*victories*," gained by our army during the late war; I believe, that there would be a pretty fair balance (leaving out the American war) between the successes and "*negative successes*." As to the battle of Waterloo; as to the sur-

render of Paris; as to the defeat, as it is called, of Bonaparte; as to all these, they were achieved, principally, not by the arms but by the *bank notes* of England; and, I have no scruple to say, that in the restoration of the Bourbons and of the ancient order of things, the bank directors had a thousand times more influence, than all our armies, all our ships, and all our commanders put together. Nor did the bank directors seem to be blind to their merit in this respect, for they, in a representation to the Ministers, made in 1849, distinctly observed, that, while they joined the rest of the nation in applauding the conduct of our fleets and armies, *they themselves compelled them to assert their own claim to a large share of the applause due to the successful transactions of the war*. I expressed my approbation of the claim, at the time when it was made. I said then, that the names of the bank directors, the picture of the old lady, ought to be inscribed on the triumphal

columns, which it was then proposed to build; and I do hope that the "Great Captain" will suffer the bank directors to be put upon some part or other of the triumphal arches, which are now being built, apparently, for him, and the King:

The victories, as they are called, were generally things purchased with money. It was observed, by the various parcels of Germans and Russians which we hired, that it was *very curious*, that, when they gained a victory in company with us, we always claimed it as *wholly belonging to us*; and that, when they got beaten along with us, we always gave them the greatest share of the "negative success." Yes, very "curious perhaps," but certainly by no means unjust; for, we *paid* for the whole of the victory when we got one, and, when the success was of the negative kind, we might surely let our hirelings bear their portion of the honor. The bank directors were right, to a certainty: a very large share of the *merits*

of the war, and of all its consequences, assuredly belongs to them; and, if I could have my will of every man jack of them, or, if dead, the heirs or successors of every man jack of them, should receive, in the most ample degree, a *reward suitable to those merits*. Some people seem to despair of seeing that day of justice arrive; for my part I do not, and I trust; that I shall live to record this event.

Besides, however, this sharing on the part of the bank directors, we must set the defeats against the victories, if we will be *hard* enough, or, rather, so *boastly* stupid, as to ascribe the victories to the DUKE of YORK. It would be the most monstrous absurdity that ever disgraced the lips of man, to ascribe the victories to him without ascribing to him the defeats also; and, if we do this, my real opinion is, that, including his *own famous wars*, of which I shall presently speak, our army was present, and took part in, if we include the war against Amer-

rica, *three* defeats to every *two* victories. So that, the argument, founded on the victories, would be worth very little to his Royal Grace. The victories are taken to be a proof of the excellence of his Commander-in-Chief-ship; but, if the defeats exceed the victories in *number*, which I am sure is the fact; and if the *victories* themselves were purchased, **AND REMAIN YET TO BE PAID FOR**: if this should turn out to be the case, what then becomes of this proof of the excellence of the discipline taught by the **DUKE** of **YORK**; and, who will not be ready to repeat the words of my motto, "*they did flatter him with their mouth, and lied.*"

These wondrous parasites either forget, or they never knew any thing about the history of the late wars. Some of them, indeed, may not have been born, at the time when the Duke was in *the field himself*; to such it will be a treat, "especially if they be addicted to rat-hunting," it will be quite a treat, to be introduced into

that field, from which I shall not now, thank God, have much longer to detain them. But, though some of the nauseous parasites may not have been born, at the time of the memorable achievements of Dunkirk and the Helder, they must all have been born (or they have begun the trade of parasite at a very early age) at the time of the battles of CHIPPEWAN, PLATSBURGH, the retreat before BALTIMORE, and the ever memorable battle of NEW ORLEANS, which exhibited to the world, in the bravery and conduct of GENERAL JACKSON and his volunteers, the finest instance of courage, of love of country, of devotion to justice, truth and honour, that ever, as far as I have witnessed, was known since man¹¹ was man. There may have been, in the history of the world, instances of these virtues equal to these, but it is impossible for human nature to produce any thing to surpass it. There must have been some of the parasites, who were born at the time when that memorable

battle took place, yet, perhaps, there is this excuse for them, that that affair was so completely smothered up in England; so completely shut out of the gazette, as to all its main features, and passed over with such profound silence in Parliament, that this deluded, this wilfully blind and humbugged nation, scarcely ever knew that such a battle had ever taken place, though it decided, for ever, the character of the combatants of both sides, though it read to mankind this useful, this important, this heart-cheering lesson, that all the arts of war; all the perfections of military discipline, all the inventions of military science, all the vaunted rockets of CONGREVE, all the tactics taught by Prussia, Austria and France, all the stimulants of ribbons, medals, stars and military titles, are as dust in the balance, when weighed against the arms, the simple and rude arms of free men, animated with the resolution to preserve their country against the unhallowed invasions of its

enemies. Some of the parasites, however, must have known something of the American war; and, therefore, if they ascribed to the DUKE OF YORK's teaching so large a part of what they called the victories of the army, they surely ought to have ascribed to him a share as large of the disgraceful defeats of that war. Leaving out this war, however, why did the parasites stop at the transactions in Spain and France, into neither of which the English army ever entered, until they had *more than one half of the people on their side*? This was the case, observe, or else we were told the most abominable lies. As to Spain, it is notoriously true, that the people were for us almost to a man, and France was not entered, until, in fact, the tyrant who ruled it, had so harassed and disgusted the people, as to make them hail us as their *allies*.

Good reason, therefore, as we are now going to see, was there for the parasites to go no further back, than what may be fairly

called the *lag end* of the war, and to leave wholly unnoticed the proceedings of the English army, when in the field against the French, and when the French, whatever might be the fact, were animated by what they deemed the love of freedom. The parasites had, however, more than one good reason for this omission; for, the history of the early campaigns of the war, was a history of little more than the defeats of our army; and another, and a stronger reason was, that, in these early campaigns, the English army was *under the command of this very Duke of York in person*. One would have thought, that no parasite, however barefaced, however profligate, however strongly animated by the desire of making the living pay for the dead, would have wholly overlooked, wholly sunk, this by far the most interesting part of the life of his hero! The office of Commander-in-Chief *at home*, was a thing of trifling importance, compared to the office of Commander-in-Chief *abroad*.

The tactics, practised at the *hust* guards, the marches and counter-marches from PLYMOUTH to HAWICK, and from CHATHAM to LONDON; and then going by *sea* on the canal from BRENTFORD to MANCHESTER and BLACKBURN: these are things easily carried on; they require very little skill; not much more than one could purchase in the shape of a couple of clerks for eight or nine score pounds a year. But, when it comes to commanding an army in the field; when it comes to the facing of brave enemies, and particularly such as are animated by the love of liberty; when it comes to a struggle against such armies as France poured forth during the first ten years of her late wars, then the military merit of the opponent is *put to the test*. The Duke's merit was put to this test; and, let us, then, taking for our guide the page, not of *impartial* history, but of history most partial on his side: taking this history for our guide, advancing no fact as from our-

secret, and drawing no conclusion other than the conclusion which evidently proceeds from the premises; taking, in short, for our guide, a statement of those facts, which even parasites could not smother, and that, too, at a time, when it was almost to be guilty of treason to publish any fact contrary to the wishes of those who had the guiding of all things in the nation; when it was dangerous to be even suspected of a desire to make disagreeable truths known to the public: taking for our guide, I say, the cowed down ANNUAL REGISTER of those times, let us try the military merits of the Duke of York even by this test.

In the year 1793, war having been begun against the French, the English army, one of the finest and best appointed that the English ever sent forth, furnished, as our armies always are, even to prodigality, was sent forth under the Duke of York, to join the Imperial, and other German armies, with a view of attacking

and putting down the French revolution. It is curious enough, that the Prince of SAXE COBURG, the father of him, to whom we have now the honour to pay 50,000*l.* a year, commanded the Austrian army upon this occasion. All these armies united, had taken, in August, 1793, the town of VALENCIENNES, on the confines of France; and all was rejoicing in England, the men got drunk with toasting the Duke of York, while their wives ran them in debt, to vie with their neighbours in sticking up candles to demonstrate their loyalty, and, as was the fashion of that day, their attachment to their "GOD AND THEIR KING," I being by no means certain, that they did not put the king first. The Duke, though intent enough, perhaps, on putting down "republicanism" and "atheism," did not altogether forget the *shop*. He knew that DUNKIRK was a famous place for trafficking; and, therefore, in the way of gratitude, I suppose, for the praises which he had received, on account of the conquest of VALEN-

CIENNES; which, by-the-bye, was, according to the principle above laid down, ascribed wholly to the Duke; in gratitude, I suppose, for this, his ROYAL HIGHNESS wished to do some signal service to the shop; and, therefore, knowing that the shop would be very much pleased, to possess such a trafficking place as DUNKIRK, he quitted his loving allies (all but the HANOVERIANS, whom he took with him) in order to capture this town. Which capture was deemed to be so certain a result of his undertaking, that *handkerchiefs*, celebrating the event, and representing the DUKE with a crown of laurel on his head, had been actually printed at that hell-hole MANCHESTER, before the news arrived of his having been driven from before the place, with a flea so loudly buzzing in his ear, that the HANOVERIAN GENERAL and our DUKE of CAMBRIDGE "were, for a short time, in possession of the enemy!" In other words, they were prisoners, till a General of the name of WALMO-

DEN came suddenly and unexpectedly to their aid and rescued them. The historian says that the DUKE saved his MILITARY CHEST, took care of the money, but was compelled to abandon his heavy artillery, camp equipage, ammunition, and of course all the rest of the things, to an enormous amount, so necessary to the efficiency of his army. There appears hardly ever to have been a more hasty or helter-skelter retreat; and, which is curious enough, so little were the French Convention satisfied with GENERAL HOUGHARD, and who, they insisted, ought to have *flung the DUKE of YORK and his army into the sea*; that they brought him to trial, condemned him to *die, and put him to death*. Now, though the French Convention consisted of violent men, they would not have put a General to death, unless there had been some ground for the accusation against him. In short, we must believe that HOUGHARD did not do his duty; and, then we must ask, what would

have been the fate of the English army if he had done his duty; and that will suggest to us to ask further, what must have been the judgment of him who undertook, and what the conduct of him who had the execution of this enterprise.

After this affair, the Duke rejoined the Austrians; and the first step was to settle a point of *vast importance*, namely, whether the Duke should or should *not be under the command of the Austrian General!* A grand council of war was held to settle this point; but it was of such importance that it could not be settled without a negotiation between the courts of LONDON and VIENNA, by whom it was finally agreed that the DUKE should not be under an Austrian commander unless the emperor came to command in person. While these high blooded gentry were settling this point, the French were preparing for a furious attack upon the whole of them. During the former part of the year 1794, the

war was carried on in Flanders, the parties having for them, sometimes victory and sometimes defeat; but the latter generally fell to the lot of the allies, of which the English army formed a part, arising, the historians observe, in some part, at least, from the before mentioned dispute about precedence. At last, VALENCIENNES was abandoned, though fortified anew by the Austrians, and with it such immense quantities of stores and provisions of every sort, that were hardly ever before seen in one fortress. Besides these, an immense military chest fell into the hands of the French, who now pressed the allied army with so much vigour, that they compelled them finally to separate, each army seeking its own safety in retreat, or rather in hasty helter-skelter flight. The DUKE of YORK and his army now hastened away towards Holland, sustaining defeat after defeat, routing after routing, loss after loss, hunted from fortress to fortress, and from some which

had never before opened their gates to an enemy, and were, till now, deemed to be impregnable. Winter was coming on apace, the climate was cold; the inhabitants hostile in their hearts, when the English army took shelter in the celebrated fortress of NAMUR. Here, however, in a fortress which had always been deemed fit to stand a siege for a year, this unhappy army found no safety. The indefatigable and implacable republicans soon came up, with the view to besiege and take the whole of them. Leaving behind them a large part of the remnant of their heavy stores and implements of war, they traversed the Dutch territories, with the French close at their heels, and, at last, reached the Duchy of Bremin; whence they embarked; or, rather, the remnant of them embarked, and, after being pelted about by the waves, in the bitter cold month of January, landed on the banks of the Humber, and at other places, whither they had been driven, and where, like Job's messengers, they told their dismal tale.

Never have I read of the sufferings of any thing that bore the name of army, to equal the sufferings of this body of men. Without food, without drink, without scarcely a rag to cover them, or a shoe to their foot; their backs constantly exposed to the bullets of the French; and suffering every privation that imagination can conceive, frozen to death by thousands, their women and children left dead, strewed by the sides of the road, these unhappy creatures came home to England to tell their dismal tale and to put upon record upon the minds of all who heard them, one consequence, at least, of an undertaking, bottomed, as we all well know, in an avowed desire to prevent those which were called French principles from penetrating into England! In other words, to prevent those changes, those very changes, which must even now come, or which must leave their place to be supplied by events beyond all measure more dreadful than those which could possibly have arisen, if even that

had taken place for which the reformers are accused of having wished:

But, it may be said by the parasites, and by those who have sold their columns to the parasites, that there might be no fault in the Duke of YORK; that an army may suffer defeat after defeat, and run before an enemy from fortress to fortress, as a rabbit runs from burrow to burrow before a weazel or a ferret that takes a grab at her at every resting place, and that still the Commander-in-Chief may be a very good Commander-in-Chief. Mark, however, how this works: if there be no *demerit* in such a series of defeat, under every variety of time and place, there can be, under no circumstances whatever, any merit in victory. Say that the Duke of YORK might be a very good *General*, though his army (who were the finest, mind, and best appointed that the world ever saw) got thus hunted about, hacked, and trodden to pieces: say that all this might happen, and that

the Commander-in-Chief might be still a very good *General*; and, then let me ask those "hairs" parasites, where they will find the evidence to prove, that any man upon earth can by possibility be a *bad General*.

It would be fortunate, however, for the memory of this greatly eulogized Commander-in-Chief, if the history of this campaign stopped here. It does not stop here: common justice will not let it stop here; but will add, will tell that cajoled public, in whose ears the lofty praises of this Duke have been rung, that HE DID NOT REMAIN TO PARTAKE OF THE DANGERS AND SUFFERINGS OF THIS UNFORTUNATE ARMY! The reader of the present day will hardly believe the fact: the men who have been born within the last thirty years, and who have been stunned by the bawlings of the parasites, will hardly think it possible, but the fact is, that when the cold weather was coming on, and when there could appear a

chance of nothing but bare escape, and that, too, by the terrible exertions of hardihood and valour, which this remnant of this army afterwards displayed; when that moment arrived, he who had caused two Governments to negotiate, rather than yield a point of punctilio as to the right of command, quitted that army, of the command of which he had been, and not unjustly, so proud, and left them under a FOREIGN COMMANDER, to be led to the water's edge, and thence to escape, after every species of suffering, mental as well as bodily, of which human beings are capable. Seriously, I say, that, when I think of what he must have felt, while sitting in a double doored, double windowed, carpetted and cushioned room in London; when I think of what his thoughts must have been, what his feelings must have been, while sitting in such room, and reading of the dreadful sufferings of the remnant of his army, of their lacerated bodies, their frozen extremities, their

hungry stomachs, and of here a comrade leaving his comrade to perish behind him, here a husband leaving his wife, here a mother leaving her child, which was the case in hundreds of hundreds of instances; when I reflect upon what his feelings must have been, I sincerely say, *that that would have been enough*; but, the parasites provoke an answer, justice to the country demands it, circumstances have given me the power, and duty to my country commands me to exert that power.

If there should be found a parasite so completely destitute of all shame, so wonderfully gifted in the way of impudence and of profligate sycophancy as to say, that the Duke was, at the time here referred to, a young man, and that it was his first essay, I answer, that he was pretty nearly *thirty years of age*, and that he had been studying the art of war all his life time, having lived several years in Prussia, which was looked upon as the school of mili-

tary commanders. However, the history of the Duke's wars, unfortunately for his parasites, furnish an answer, and a most complete answer, to this miserable excuse; for, in 1799, the Duke had another army put under his command, another English army, appointed and provided in the best possible manner, which was to be joined by a Russian and a Hanoverian army for the purpose of driving the French out of Holland, and for restoring the Stadtholder to his authority. The DUKE was Commander-in-Chief of this army. In the month of September, the fighting began. The Duke had under him Generals Abercrombie and Dundas, and many others whom the base newspapers of that day called the "*flower of the English nobility.*" There was a maritime expedition accompanied with this, which was intended to get possession of the Dutch fleet. This latter object was easily effected, for the Dutch fleet surrendered without striking a blow, and came over as quietly

as pussy, and were safely moored, I believe it was, at Torbay! But, to drive the devils of republicans out of Holland was another man's matter, and that matter the Duke had to manage. It is useless to waste time in a detail of the battles that ensued: the result being the only thing of any interest, and that result was, that, at the end of about *thirty* days from the commencement of the military operations, in spite of the flower of the "*English nobility,*" the Duke and his army were compelled to retreat to the edge of the land, and that he there signed a capitulation, by which he rescued the bodies of that army from capture, at the least, and, perhaps, from total destruction. The conditions of this capitulation were very simple: the Duke agreed that there should be SURRENDERED TO THE FRENCH EIGHT THOUSAND OF THE SEAMEN, WHETHER FRENCH OR DUTCH, WHO WERE PRISONERS IN ENGLAND, and that, on that condi-

tion, the Duke's army should be permitted to go out of Holland, safe in body, and as cheerful in mind as circumstances might admit of! Thus ended this celebrated campaign of our late Commander-in-Chief. If any thing could have added; if there had been a possibility of adding to the humiliation of the Duke and his "flower of English nobility," that humiliation was at hand in the curious and interesting fact, that the Duke and the "flower," he a prince of the blood royal, and the "flower" having amongst them PRINCE WILLIAM of GLOUCESTER, were defeated by, and the DUKE capitulated with, the French GENERAL BRUNE, who had been apprenticed to a PRINTER at LIMOGES, and the Dutch GENERAL DANDAELLS, who had been apprenticed to a BAKER at Amsterdam. AH I shall say more is this, that his MAJESTY, in the order, appointing the DUKE of WELLINGTON Commander-in-Chief to the army, has told us, that

he best merits that post who has led that army to glory. If I approved of standing armies and Commanders-in-Chief, I should agree in this sentiment of his MAJESTY; as the thing is, I leave the parasites up to the chime in that dilemma in which this sentiment of his Majesty has placed them; and thus I take my leave of this subject.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S.—If the reader should happen to know SIR HERBERT TAYLOR, who has, in his history of the DUKE's last illness, discovered such a profound sense of religion; if the reader should happen to know this gentleman, I should be obliged to him just to ask him, what were the BOOKS, which chiefly composed the library of his late Royal Patron! That the Whole Duty of Man, that BAXTER's Call, and TAYLOR's (perhaps SIR HERBERT's father) Holy Living and Dying; that these works, and other such evidences of the piety of the deceased, made part of the Duke's library, is to be supposed as a matter of course. But, a Correspondent has informed me that there were

OTHER books, in greater number and variety, than in the collection of any man in England! As to **PRINTS**, there were, I am told, a **VAST VARIETY** in all shapes and sizes, and representing, too, other things besides the Crucifixion, the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the Birth of Jesus Christ, the Descent of the Dove, and so forth; these the Royal and pious personage had, of course; but I am told that there was a *great* number of others, which, if **SIR HERBERT** will be pleased to add a list of them, to that of the books, would form a pretty little *tail-piece* to his history.

AMERICAN KIDNEY BEANS.

I HAVE two sorts of these, the finest that ever were in England; one of them the very earliest that I ever saw; and the seed, in both cases, so ripe, sound, and excellent, that a large crop from it is certain.—One sort is *Yellow*, the other *Speckled*; both are dwarfs.—Price—17s. a bushel, and smaller quantities in proportion, with something added for paper, string, and trouble.—They are sold at the Office of the Register, No 183, Fleet Street, and may be sent, by order, to any part of the country.

A Young Man, twenty-two years of age, who has resided during the last four years in Paris, and has made himself proficient in the French language, wishes for employment in teaching French, in a Gentleman's family. To his knowledge of French, he begs leave to add that of Latin, and also his capacity to give instruction in the different branches of Philosophy, excepting that of Physic.—Any Gentleman in want of such a person, will please to apply (if by letter, post paid) at the Office of the Register.

FOR SALE,

At the Office of the Register, the first 20 Volumes of the REGISTER, half-bound in Russia. Price Seven Pounds.

ALDERNEY COWS.

JAMES ROBERTS, of Abbotston, near Alresford, in Hampshire, has for sale, Cows and Heifers imported from the Islands. They are of the best breeds, selected with great care, and the Advertiser will warrant them to be what they shall be described to the purchaser. He sends them under the care of his own people, to any part of England; and he has the satisfaction to know, that at nearly three hundred miles from his home, Cows and Heifers sent thither by him have arrived safe and done well. Those Gentlemen and Ladies who live at a distance, and who have no other means of communication, will please to direct their letters as above.

JAMES ROBERTS.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending March 30.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat ..	56	1	Rye	41	3
Barley ..	37	1	Beans ...	47	6
Oats	30	8	Pease ...	49	5

Total Quantity of Corn returned as Sold in the Maritime Districts, for the week ended March 30.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	36,419	Rye	189
Barley ..	18,277	Beans ...	2,251
Oats ...	13,539	Pease	667

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, March 31.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat..	4,993	for 14,678	10	6	Average,	58	9
Barley..	4,139	.. 8,082	6	8	.....	39	0
Oats..	3,988	.. 6,396	19	8	.....	33	0
Rye....	15	.. 29	2	9	.....	38	10
Beans..	1,147	.. 2,593	17	11	.....	45	2
Pease..	541	.. 1,309	2	3	.....	48	4

Friday, April 6.—The supplies of Grain this week are moderate, and there is again a good quantity of Flour. The Wheat trade is very dull, and hardly supports last Monday's prices. Barley is unaltered. Beans and Pease continue as reported on Monday. There is very little doing in the Oat trade this morning, and prices of last market day are not supported. The Flour trade very dull.

Monday, April 9.—The arrivals of English Grain during the past week were moderate; there was however a good addition made to the quantity of Oats, by the Irish and Foreign supplies, and of Flour the return was again tolerably large. To this morning's market there are few additional arrivals from the adjacent counties, and not much Spring Corn from parts more distant, but Foreign vessels continue to arrive with Oats. Prime samples of Wheat are scarce, and command attention at last week's prices; all other sorts are so very dull, that to effect sales reduced rates must be complied with.

Barley, Beans, and Pease, each find a slow sale at the terms last quoted. The weather being remarkably favourable for Spring operations, occasions our London dealers to purchase very sparingly, and on Friday the trade was reported generally 1s. per quarter lower, but to-day there was an improved demand from country buyers, and the terms of this day se'nnight were nearly obtained for such samples as are sweet and good. The Flour trade continues heavy.

Price on board Ship as under.

Flour, per sack	46s. — 50s.
— Seconds	42s. — 44s.
— North Country ..	40s. — 44s.

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. Loaf is stated at 9d. by the full-priced Bakers.

Account of Wheat, &c. arrived in the Port of London, from April 2 to April 7, both inclusive.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	4,258	Tares	466
Barley ..	2,827	Linseed ..	15
Malt	8,429	Rapeseed..	—
Oats	4,608	Brank ..	8
Beans	602	Mustard ..	34
Flour	8,093	Flax	—
Rye	440	Hemp	218
Pease	942	Seeds	—

Foreign.—Wheat, 480; Barley, 570; Oats, 7,231; and Beans, 1,773 qrs.

Monday, April 9.—The arrivals from Ireland last week were, 1,800 firkins of Butter, and 1,302 bales of Bacon; and from Foreign Ports, 3,222 casks of Butter.

HOPS.

Price of Hops, per Cwt. in the Borough.

Monday, April 9.—There has been rather more inquiry for Hops during the week, but with no variation in prices.

Maidstone, April 5.—The last week has brought the Hops forward, and they are coming out of the ground very fast, but the young shoots at present appear rather weakly. Nothing whatever doing in the trade.

Worcester, April 4.—On Saturday, 103 Pockets of Hops were weighed; the demand equalled the supply, and fine samples fully maintained the late prices.—It appears from an Official Return, that in the year ending 5th January, 1827, the quantity of Hops exported to Foreign parts was 3,960 cwt. The imports amounted to 1,874 cwt.

SMITHFIELD.

Monday, April 9.—On Friday there was a great heaviness in the trade for both Beef and Mutton, and lower terms were of necessity submitted to. For Lamb the demand was brisk, and all that were choice reached the top currency of Monday last. The market to-day is not overdone with anything. The best Beef makes about a crown; but the trade is remarkably flat in other respects; and many middling Beasts, notwithstanding the supply is so moderate, will remain unsold. Sheep being short in number, there was some animation among the buyers in the early part of the day, but towards the close of the market, the demand materially slackened, and the morning's prices could not be obtained. Prime polled Sheep in the wool made 5s. 4d., and best Downs 5s. 6d. The supply of Lamb not being great, the currency of this day se'nnight was fully supported.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	8	to	5 0
Mutton . . .	4	4	—	5 6
Veal	5	0	—	6 0
Pork	4	6	—	5 4
Lamb	6	0	—	7 0
Beasts . . .	2,351		Sheep . .	14,720
Calves . . .	107		Pigs . . .	112

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	4	to	4 4
Mutton . . .	4	0	—	4 8
Veal	3	4	—	5 4
Pork	3	8	—	5 8

LEADENHALL, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	0	to	4 4
Mutton . . .	3	8	—	4 8
Veal	3	8	—	5 4
Pork	4	0	—	5 4

POTATOES.

SPRINGFIELD, per Ton.

Ox-Nobles.....	4	0	to	0	0
Middlings.....	2	10	—	0	0
Chats.....	2	0	—	0	0
Common Red..	4	0	—	0	0
Onions, Os. Od.—0s. 0d.	per bush.				

BOROUGH, per Ton.

Ox-Nobles....	3	10	to	4	6
Middlings....	2	0	—	2	10
Chats.....	2	0	—	0	0
Common Red..	3	0	—	4	0

MAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay....80s. to 115s.

Straw...40s. to 45s.

Clover. 100s. to 140s.

St. James's.—Hay....84s. to 128s.

Straw..42s. to 48s.

Clover, 120s. to 185s.

Whitechapel.—Hay....80s. to 115s.

Straw...36s. to 42s.

Clover..80s. to 135s.

AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN, sold in the Maritime Counties of
England and Wales, for the Week ended March 20, 1837.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
London*.....	59	6	38	7	32	11
Essex.....	58	6	36	3	31	0
Kent.....	56	2	39	1	31	8
Sussex.....	55	6	41	0	80	2
Suffolk.....	55	3	34	7	30	3
Cambridgeshire.....	52	2	34	9	26	1
Norfolk.....	55	0	34	10	32	7
Lincolnshire.....	55	8	39	1	28	1
Yorkshire.....	55	5	41	6	29	8
Durham.....	55	3	44	0	33	3
Northumberland.....	53	4	36	10	33	7
Cumberland.....	62	5	38	3	35	8
Westmoreland.....	62	10	45	4	38	1
Lancashire.....	62	1	39	6	34	4
Cheshire.....	60	4	49	8	30	1
Gloucestershire.....	58	7	43	8	38	2
Somersetshire.....	55	9	41	3	29	10
Monmouthshire.....	60	0	45	8	0	0
Devonshire.....	56	0	37	5	27	4
Corwall.....	57	7	38	1	37	0
Dorsetshire.....	55	7	37	9	32	5
Hampshire.....	56	1	38	6	34	8
North Wales.....	62	4	44	10	34	0
South Wales.....	67	8	40	7	25	7

* The London Average is always that of the Week preceding.

Liverpool, April 3.—Since Tuesday se'nnight the imports of Grain have been very light, the demand has been improving throughout the week, and sales have been made of Wheat, Oats, and Barley to a moderate extent, at an increase in value for the former 2d. to 3d. per 70 lbs., and 3d. to 1d. per bushel on the two latter. We are still without arrivals of White Pease. In prices of Flour and Oatmeal no variation.

Imported into Liverpool, from March 27th to April 3d, 1827, inclusive:—Wheat, 3,202; Barley, 96; Oats, 6,777; Malt, 25; Beans, 600; Pease, 62 quarters. Flour, 130 sacks, per 280 lbs.

Bristol, April 7.—We have but little doing in our Corn markets, except for good Barley, which sells freely at a further advance of 1s. per quarter since this day week; the supply of prime Barley continues limited.—Wheat, from 6s. to 7s. 6d.; Barley, 4s. 6d. to 6s.; Beans, 5s. 6d. to 8s.; Oats, 2s. 1½d. to 4s.; and Malt, 6s. to 8s. 3d. per bushel, Imperial. Flour, Seconds, 33s. to 43s. per bag.

Guildford, April 7.—Wheat, new, for meal, 14l. to 16l. 15s. per load. Barley, 38s. to 43s.; Oats, 33s. to 44s.; Beans, 54s. to 58s.; Pease, 60s. to 64s.; ditto, boilers, 62s. to 64s. per quarter.

Horncastle, April 7.—The supply of samples of Grain to-day was small, prices nearly the same as last week, except Oats, which were something lower.—Wheat, 50s. to 56s.; Barley, 40s. to 42s.; Oats, 28s. to 35s.; Pease, 60s.; Beans, 55s. to 60s.; and Rye from 40s. to 42s. per quarter.

Ipswich, April 7.—We had to-day a remarkably small supply of all Corn for the time of the year. Wheat sold much the same. Barley was 1s. per quarter dearer. Prices as follow:—Wheat, 52s. to 62s.; Barley, 36s. to 41s.; Beans, 44s. to 47s. per quarter; and Pease, none.

Manchester, April 7.—The supplies of all kinds of Grain, &c. have been very limited during the week, but fully adequate to the demand, and prices have been on the decline. Our market to-day was but thinly attended, and, from the drooping, dull state of Wakefield market yesterday, the price of the best Wheat declined about 2d., and inferior full 4d. per bushel of 70 lbs. from the prices of last week. Oats dull sale, at a decline of ½d. to 1d. per bushel of 45 lbs. Flour is 1s. per sack lower, and dull sale at the decline. In Barley, Beans, Pease, and Malt, no alteration.

Newcastle-on-Tyne, April 7.—There was again a good supply of Wheat from the farmers, but very little coastwise, at this day's market, and prices were nearly the same as last week. Rye continues in demand. We have had some arrivals of Barley from Norfolk, which is selling slowly at prices quoted. Malt rather more in demand. The supply of Oats was not large, but it seemed to be equal to the demand, and prices were the same as last week.

Reading, April 7.—We had a fair supply of Wheat, the quality of which was again rough; it met a heavy sale, but the best realized the same prices as last week, while inferior qualities were 1s. lower. Old, 57s. to 67s. New, 52s. to 65s. per quarter by the Imperial measure. There was a very short supply of Barley, which met a very ready sale at an advance of 2s. per quarter. Oats were also a short quantity and 1s. dearer. There were very few Beans and very little demand, prices the same as last week. In Pease no alteration. Samples of Indian Wheat were exhibited in the market, they were stated to weigh from 56 to 58 lbs. per bushel; 5,000 quarters last week arrived at Bristol; 37s. 6d. per quarter was the price asked, to which carriage from Bristol must be added. We did not hear of any sales being effected to-day.

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Horncastle, April 7.—Beef, 9s. per stone of 14 lbs. ; Mutton, 8d. ; Pork, 8d. ; and Veal, 9d. to 10d. per lb.

Manchester Smithfield Market, April 4.—The supply of Beasts and Sheep to this day's market was small ; the dealers demanded and obtained $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per lb. advance on fat Mutton, but the lean sorts were heavy in sale, although the quantity was much less than for some time past. Pork has undergone an improvement of $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per lb. since this day week, and ready sale at the advance, it being the cheapest meat. Veal the same as last week. As to the few Lambs at market, they were taken away unsold, as being considered not fat enough to kill.—Beef, 5d. to 8d. ; Mutton, 7d. to 9d. ; Veal, 5d. to 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. ; and Pork, 5d. to 6d. per lb. sinking offal.

Norwich Castle Meadow, April 7.—The supply of fat Cattle to this day's market was large, and the sale for them slow at 7s. 6d. to 8s. per stone of 14 lbs. sinking offal ; the show of Scots was large, some few of a good sort, at about 4s. per stone of 14 lbs., of what they will weigh when fat ; only a lot or two of poor Shorthorns at 3s. 3d. ; Cows and Calves, and Homebreds, continue a flat sale from the difficulty of procuring keep for them.—Meat : Beef, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. ; Veal, 6d. to 8d. ; Mutton, 6d. to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. ; Lamb, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. ; and Pork, 6d. to 8d. per lb.

At *Morpeth Market*, April 4th, there were a good many Cattle and Sheep ; there being a great demand, the former met with ready sale at an advance in price. Beef, from 7s. to 7s. 9d. ; Mutton, 7s. to 8s. 6d. per stone, sinking offal.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

Vol. 62.—No. 4.] LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 21, 1827. [Price 6d.



"Let not, whatever other ills assail,

"A damed Aristocracy prevail."

GOLDSMITH.

TO THE PARLIAMENTARY REFORMERS. ON THE CHANGE OF MINISTRY.

Kensington, 18th April, 1827.

MY FRIENDS,

WE have, at last, seen arise a state of things, which cannot but lead to very important consequences. Consequences of great importance, events which deeply affect nations, come, originally, or distantly, from great causes; but the immediate cause, the act of bringing them forth, is very frequently of a trifling nature. Thus, has the disqualification of Lord

Liverpool; that state in which he is, and which, in my opinion, differs in a very slight degree from the state in which he always has been, ever since I have known him, led to such a change, in the persons governing, as must inevitably have a tendency to break up the whole of that system which it seems next to impossible to carry much further without producing sufferings so great and so general, that anarchy and confu-

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sion must be the final and no distant consequence.

As to the nature of this change, Mr. CANNING is, it appears, the First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the King's Prime Minister. In consequence of this appointment, seven of his colleagues, namely, the LORD CHANCELLOR, the DUKE OF WELLINGTON, LORD MALVILLE, LORD BATHURST, LORD BEXLY (Vansittart), LORD WESTMORELAND, and Mr. PEEL, have resigned their posts, these being seven out of the twelve Cabinet Ministers. Such is the nature of the change, as far as I have yet heard it represented. Various other noblemen and gentlemen, not being Cabinet Ministers, but persons filling high situations, have also resigned their offices. It is confidently asserted, and many particulars have been stated in proof of the fact, that certain of the nobility, who are pretty well known to have no small influence at elections, have had the confidence to remonstrate

with the KING on this his appointment of Mr. CANNING. And, from every thing I see and hear, I cannot help being convinced, that a great body of the persons of this description, not excluding the *clerical aristocracy*, have been by no means backward in expressing their disapprobation of this measure of their sovereign, and their determination to exercise the power they possess, in order to *compel* him to revoke this appointment. Now, my friends, this being pretty nearly, I imagine, a true description of the state of the case, it behoves us to think a little of the part which WE ought to act, during the contest which must inevitably ensue. For my part, had I been one of those, or that person, who advised the King to make this appointment; if I had had the power to obtain the attention of his Majesty upon this occasion, CANNING is amongst the last men upon the face of the earth, whom I would have recommended, except as a man, eminently calculated to pull down the whole

fabric of the present destructive system. But, if the King had chosen a man still more unfit to be Minister; if he had chosen (I do not suppose it possible) the Right Honourable Gentleman, by whom Eve was seduced, by whom Job was persecuted, by whom our Saviour was tempted; and who is continually rearing up and down seeking whom he may devour, I would have said, "It is our duty; it is our interest also; but, it is our *bounden* duty to uphold the King against any combination, or combinations, that may attempt, that may have the audacity to attempt, to thwart his will and compel him to yield to theirs."

As to the manner in which we, the people of England, can be affected, by any measures that any Ministry may adopt, there are no measures that any Ministers can adopt, worthy of any thing like serious attention, unless these measures have at the head of them regulations and laws relative to the PAPER MONEY.

In this respect there is no difference between CANNING and those who have shunned an association with him. Neither they nor he can do any thing effectual here, without unsayyng all that they have said for years past; without breaking pledges a thousand times given; without discovering ignorance almost degrading to human nature; so that, in this all important respect, both parties are upon a floating. The change, therefore, is, in this point of view, of no interest at all. CANNING will go on with the system, till it will hold to pieces no longer; his opponents would do the same if they were to oust him: he would do no more, and no more could they do. It is, therefore, on the ground-work of a great struggle between the KING and the ARISTOCRACY, that we are to view this appointment of Mr. CANNING; and I now address myself to you, in order to induce you, whenever and wherever you may have the means, to support the King against this Aristocracy;

who, as we have a hundred times over alleged in our petitions, have, in fact, long and long domineered over both King and people. If CANNING be the cause of putting an end to this domination, or if it be put an end to merely by the use of his name, he will be entitled, or at least he may expect, from so good-natured a people, forgiveness for all his manifold sins committed against us for the last thirty years; and that is, I think, saying as much for this act of his, as an excess of the generosity of human nature can possibly suggest.

All the miseries of England; its enormous taxes, its irredeemable debts, the abrogation of its best laws, the numerous additions made to the severities of a criminal code, which has at last become terrible, but to think of; the horrible code of game laws; the new trespass law, the divers powers of imprisonment bills, the cruel exactions from the industrious part of the community, collected together to be voted away

upon a Church already wallowing in wealth beyond bounds: these things, which are now become so notorious to the nation; all those things, in short, which have embarrassed and ruined the middle class, and which have pauperised or starved the lower class; all these may be fairly traced to the usurped power of that body, who are said now to have pushed their audacity so far as to dictate to the King himself, but whose dictates the King has had the courage to set at defiance.

If, indeed, the body in question had been renowned, if the nation had known them to be wise, disinterested, full of love of country, full of benevolence towards the people, and of proper devotion to the King: if this had been the case, we might have heard with some patience of their pressing their advice, uncalled for, upon his Majesty. When HENRY the Eighth was advised to listen to the counsel of BISHOP FISHER, it was deemed very harsh in him to say, "Let him take care of

"his *Bishoprick*, and I'll warrant
 "him I will take care of *my*
 "crown." But he was answered,
 "Recollect that he was deemed
 "the wisest of your father's coun-
 "sellors; that his counsels, when
 "adopted, always led to happy
 "results; that your mother, on
 "her death bed, besought you to
 "listen to him, as you would listen
 "to your father; that you long
 "called him 'Father;' that his
 "counsels always tended to make
 "you great and your people
 "happy; and that you have de-
 "clared this to many, not only
 "nobles of your own court, but to
 "foreign princes." If, I say,
 these who have now attempted to
 dictate to the King, had had
 amongst them a man like this; if
 there had been amongst them a
 man, whose wisdom, whose disin-
 terestedness, whose love of coun-
 try, and whose devotion to his
 sovereign had been proved by the
 increased greatness of their mas-
 ter, and by the happiness of his
 loyal, most ingenious, and most
 industrious subjects; if those of

the seven seceders who have been
 the longest in office, 'had gone to
 the King, and said, "I, Sir, (the
 "CHANCELLOR speaking first)
 "have borne the seals of your
 "kingdom for something ap-
 "proaching thirty years; have
 "received my little reward in
 "money, it is true; but, what is
 "that, compared to the diminution
 "I have seen made in the number
 "of bankruptcies, especially when
 "your Majesty considers, how
 "extremely happy your subjects,
 "of every description, now are."
 If, in short, every one had been
 able to say, and with truth, that
 under their counsels the nation
 had prospered, the people had
 been made happy, the laws had
 grown milder; that crime and
 poverty had decreased; that now
 the nation was in no embarrass-
 ment, that she was prepared for
 war at any moment, that the glory
 of the country, that the renown
 and safety of the throne, were
 made as sure as any mortal things
 could be; if they could, and with
 truth, have said all this, we might

have been excused for hesitating, a little, before we expressed our entire approbation of the conduct of our Sovereign in rejecting this, the last piece of advice of his and our benefactors. But, if the CABAL had gone to him, and said, as, if they spoke the truth, they must have said: "Sir, we are come to tell your Majesty, that, since we have been your Ministers, we have seen immense sums of money taken in taxes from your labouring subjects, and voted away in gifts to a clergy, some of the *Bishops* of whom have revenues of forty thousand pounds a year; we have procured, upon several occasions, Acts to be passed to empower us to shut your subjects up in prison whenever we might SUSPECT THEM of treason; these unhappy men have been shut up in dungeons, and some of them for years; under our sway, the massacre of the 16th of August, at Manchester, and the letter of thanks to the yeomanry took place; we have

procured Acts to be passed, to occasionally shut your subjects up in their houses from sunset to sunrise; other Acts, making things treason, which were not treason before; other Acts, to cause men to be transported for peaching; other Acts, to make the taking of an apple off a tree, felony; and to give such an extension to the law of treason, as to render it almost dangerous for one of your subjects to walk even along the highway; From a quarter of a million a year, we have seen, during the prevalence of our connects, the poor-rates amount to 8,000,000*l.* a year; the annual taxes we have seen rise (in time of peace) from sixteen to fifty-four millions a year; the Debt we have augmented more than fourfold, in addition to the augmentation to the poor-rates; till, at last, in every rank and degree, if we except those who live upon the taxes wrung from the people, we every where behold embarrasment, ruin, pauperism, or

"starvation; insomuch, and in a
 "degree so notorious, that the
 "Judges of the Court of King's
 "Bench, even when seated on
 "that bench, have observed, that
 "BREAD and WATER were the
 "common food and drink of the
 "labouring people of England; as
 "a natural consequence, we have
 "seen crime increase throughout
 "your dominions twenty-fold; we
 "have seen every where new
 "gaols, of amazing extent, new
 "and severer modes of punish-
 "ment; we have been obliged to
 "assign an additional circuit to
 "your Majesty's Judges in the
 "winter; to establish a police, a
 "thing unknown until now in
 "England, and hateful to the ears
 "of your predecessors, and their
 "happy subjects; in short, may
 "it please your Majesty, the
 "state of your kingdom, produced,
 "in great part, by the choppings
 "and changings made in the
 "value of money, by our sanc-
 "tioning a real invasion of your
 "Majesty's greatest and brightest
 "prerogative: all these things,

"may it please your Majesty,
 "embolden us now to come be-
 "fore you, and to beseech you,
 "for the love of God, for the
 "honour and dignity of your Ma-
 "jesty's crown, and for that affec-
 "tion and paternal feeling, which
 "you have for your people, to
 "listen to our advice, and im-
 "plicitly to follow it, by giving
 "up the exercise of your royal
 "prerogative; and to let US ap-
 "point your Minister, and not to
 "think of appointing one your-
 "SELF, it being evident, from the
 "foregoing statement, which is
 "literally true, that your Majes-
 "ty must be totally ruined, were
 "you to think of ceasing to follow
 "our counsels."

This is what truth would have
 bidden them urge in support of
 their claim to be attended to by
 the King upon this occasion.
 Kings have not, very likely, feel-
 ings like those of common men;
 but, if either of you, my friends,
 or I, had been addressed by such
 people, in such a way, and for
 such a purpose; I do not pretend

to say what either of you would have done, but I will answer for myself, and I know, that the first thing I could have laid hands on, bottle, glass, candlesticks, ink-stand, hot water: the very first thing I could have laid my hands upon, would have gone at their heads, wigged or unwigged, and they would have been at the bottom of the stairs and out into the kennel in a twinkling. But, it is surprising to what degree presumption is carried by impunity. Men in power seldom hear the sentiments, the real sentiments of anybody but flatterers. They hear the sound of the voice of nobody else. Formerly Ministers used to have some lessons read to them in Parliament, at least; for the last fifteen or sixteen years, even these lessons have ceased; and, as these men never heard a whisper of disapprobation, even when they ruined whole classes by their dreadful vagaries, played with the King's prerogative of making and issuing money; when they saw that impunity was ready for every

act, be it what it might; when they saw no power on earth, to call them to account; when they saw whole descriptions of the people swept, as it were, from the face of the earth; when they heard not a whisper of reproach, even when they proposed to tax the people to obtain the money, to send a part of the people themselves away from their native land, to avoid starvation here; when they heard not a whisper of reproach, even at this, why were they not to suppose, that they were masters of their sovereign, as well as of every body and every thing else! *There, I, for my part, most gratefully thank the King, they found something to stop their career; and, let them insinuate, and let their blackguards of the quill insinuate in broader language, as long as they please, about that despicable nonsense, "an influence behind the throne greater than the throne itself,"* this act of his Majesty has in it unqualified merit; in my eyes, come the advice

from whom it might. We have no right to presume, that his Majesty wanted any advice at all. He must be deaf and blind, indeed, not to know the situation, not to know the wants, not to know the sufferings and degradations of his people. It is hardly in nature that he should not have wished to change this state of things: his own safety as well as his own honour demanded the change. Common sense told him (for it required nothing more), that no change of any value could have been effected without a change of counsels. There could have been no change of counsels without a great change of men; and, to begin this salutary change, he was wise in taking a bold and ambitious man, that was not afraid to encounter the formidable opposition, which such a change necessarily implied; a man, wholly ignorant on the subject of the money and of its consequences, and, therefore, wholly insensible of the dangers which he has to encounter; a man, deep enough

in carrying on an affair like that which is now going on, but a man wholly unfitted for the adoption of measures calculated to extricate the country from its difficulties; but, while he is as fit as the resigning sages would have been to put to rights the affair of the paper-money, he is just the man to pull down this aristocracy, of which he has been the eulogist; this *borough* aristocracy, this ruler of King and people, of which he has, all his life-time, until now, been the champion, the daring, the shameless champion. Unless, therefore, the King had seen a probability of obtaining a wise Minister, who well understood the nature of the difficulties of the country, and who would have been likely to find out the means of putting an end to the present miseries of the people by gentle and peaceable means, I do not see how he could have made a better choice than he has made. It was necessary to break up and to rout this band of *borough* gentlemen: to go on with them any longer was im-

possible; and again I say, that I do not care a straw about the source of the advice or about the motive to the appointment of Canning.

It is evident to every man of common sense, that we owe all that we suffer to the all-subduing power of the borough-aristocracy. There were seven men, at one time, who were so renowned for their wisdom, that they were called the *seven sages* of Christendom. It is said, that they never met but once, and that then they parted for ever, agreeing upon only one maxim, expressed in these two words, "**KNOW THYSELF!**" Well would it have been for our seven sages, and still better for me, if they had adopted and acted upon this wholesome maxim; for, they would have possessed that very useful branch of knowledge expressed by the maxim, and never would have run their heads against the adamant rock of royalty, without having one soul amongst the King's subjects at their back;

and it would have been good for me, by saving me the trouble, which I shall now be at, of bringing these arrogant aristocrats into a small degree of acquaintance with themselves: they really do not appear to know who and what they are, whence they sprang, and who it is that has clothed and fed them. It is high time, therefore, when they nose their Sovereign; when they say, "You shall not choose this man for your Minister, or we will quit you and oppose you:" it is high time that they be made to know themselves; and this they shall before I have done with them, or they will be dull, indeed, of apprehension.

It is impossible, again I say, for any man in his senses not to know, and equally impossible for any honest man to deny, that the present calamities of the country; that the degraded state of the working classes; that the ruin which is sweeping over the farms and the shops and the factories; that, in short, all the cala-

mines of the country which exhibit England as just the reverse of what it always used to be; it is notorious that all these have proceeded from the day of the passing of the Septennial Bill to the present hour; that they have all proceeded from the power of the country, all the power of the purse and of every other sort, *being at the disposal of this aristocracy.* It is well known: it is as well known as that this is the month of April; that the present debt, present standing army in time of peace, the present dead-weight, the present poor-rates, are all the natural and necessary fruit of wars, waged for the purpose of preventing what the borough-men called and still call, "*anarchy and confusion*"; but which we call, which Sir FRANCIS BURDETT for nearly thirty years called, which the old Duke of RICHMOND called, which even PITT and WILBERFORCE once called "*a Constitutional Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament*." We have heard it

declared in that very House, that the trafficking in its seats was as notorious as the sun at noon-day. We know, as well as we know daylight from dark, what must be the inevitable consequences of those traffickings. The people have long been convinced, that they must continue to suffer every species of public calamity until they have again their legitimate share of power in that House. In 1798, Mr. GRAY, now Lord Grey, presented a petition to the House of Commons, stating that he and the other petitioners were ready to prove at the bar of the House, that a majority of the Members were nominated, appointed, and actually put into the House by Peers of the other House and by about twenty or thirty great big thundering commoners, the relations of peers. The petitioners concluded by saying, that the people had, in fact, no efficient share at all in the representation; and that, as far as they were concerned, there might as well be no House of Commons.

There is the petition lying, even to this day, on the table of that House. It has never been taken into consideration, and no act has ever been passed, no measure ever adopted, for the removal of the evils complained of in that petition.

The natural consequence of such a state of things is, such a mode of collecting and expending the public money as to produce the dreadful state of ruin and misery which we now behold. To the seven sages, what we, the people have to say, is this: "You have rejected the prayers we have been putting up to you for forty years; we have prayed to be admitted to a share in the making of laws, in the raising and expending of our money; you have rejected all our prayers; you and the rest of your order have most severely punished us for praying. At the end of the forty years we behold England the most wretched, instead of being, as it formerly was, the most happy country in the world. We have had no hand in the producing of this wretchedness; you have had absolute command of our persons and our purses; and, at a moment when we have this sample of the effect of your measures before us; when the

state into which you have brought the country would fully justify us in expecting to see you act an humble part, and, if not absolutely penitent, at least modest in your demeanour: precisely at this moment, we hear, not only of your retaining all your usual high tone towards the people, but of your actually dictating to the King the manner in which he shall exercise his undoubted prerogative."

I should like to have seen these seven sages come in a body before the King, to remonstrate with his Majesty upon the subject of the appointment of Mr. Canning. And, I should like to have been hidden behind a curtain while the work of remonstrating was going on. Suppose me, then, to be thus snugly posted; suppose the King, apprized beforehand of their intention, ready to receive them; suppose the seven sages to enter; and, then, let us imagine, let us not say that such or such a dialogue would have taken place, or ought to have taken place, with regard to his present Majesty; but, let us suppose that there had been a king disposed to be a little jocular, and to handle the seven sages with no great deal of ceremony: let us suppose these things, and then we may imagine that

something like the following would have been likely enough to take place.

[Enter the seven sages. His Majesty seated.]

THE KING. I did not send for you, my worthy Counsellors: pray, what may be the cause of the audience which you have solicited.

CHANCELLOR (*Bowing, and bringing his right hand across to his left breast*). May it please your Majesty, we are quite sure that your Majesty will not deem it an intrusion, and will be perfectly convinced that nothing but the most ardent feelings of affection for your Majesty's person and family, could have induced us to come before your Majesty with any thing in the shape of a remonstrance.

KING. Do not be *too sure of that!* I shall know more about it when I have heard the nature of your remonstrance.

CHANCELLOR (*Casting an eye sideways at the rest*). May it please your Majesty, we are come to protest against the appointment of Mr. CANNING, as the head of your cabinet council, as the Minister called your *First Minister*. We beseech your Majesty to reflect on the consequences of such an appointment. These consequences may reach even our

Holy Church, and may produce the greatest calamities.

KING. But I have a right to appoint whom I please?

CHANCELLOR. Yes, it is your Majesty's undoubted prerogative to choose your own Ministers; but, it is a right undoubted in us to give you our advice upon the subject.

KING. And if I am bound to follow that advice, then my right to choose a Minister is like the *congé d'élire* addressed to the Dean and Chapter of a diocese, when they are about to exercise *their right of choosing a Bishop!* They, in such case, after they have received the *congé d'élire*, invoke the Holy Ghost to assist them in their choice. The ceremony is different in the present case. I have not invoked you to assist me with your advice: the constitution knows nothing about a *congé d'élire* in the choosing of Ministers: if it did, the King would, in fact, be a most contemptible cipher; such as I am not, and as I never will be.

CHANCELLOR. But your Majesty must be perfectly convinced of my loyalty, of my fidelity, of my long and great services.

KING. Very well; but those are not to take from me my prerogative. Besides, as you have

been Chancellor for nearly thirty years, and as I have been twice called upon by you and your colleagues during a portion of that time, and once very recently, to issue almost my commands to my people to put money into the begging-box, to save large masses of that people from starving, and as I see that you have measures on foot for making my people pay taxes to raise money, in order to send Englishmen away from their native land, as an escape from their manifold miseries in that land, which was so happy, even at the time when you first became a Minister: this being the case, I must confess that there occurs to me, at this moment, no very obvious proof of the value of those long services which you have been pleased to state as a ground for my yielding implicitly to your advice upon this occasion. I may have made a choice, not the very best. I may be able to accomplish no improvement in the state of my people by this appointment which I have made; but, certain I am, that this appointment, and that nothing arising out of it, can make the situation of my people worse than it is, and can place the state in no greater danger.

CHANCELLOR. What, then, Sir,

are all my sacrifices forgotten! Is all that I have gone through, during so many years, counted for nought! Why, I have clapped your Majesty's great seal to more taxing bills, more power-of-imprisonment bills, to more suspension of habeas corpus bills, more new treason bills, more new game bills, more bills hostile to the press, and more commissions of bankruptcy, than all the Lord Chancellors that ever sat upon the wool-sack from the time of the coming of the House of Brunswick until the time that I began to sit upon that sack! And, after all this, shall not I

KING. Take from me my prerogative?

CHANCELLOR. By no means, may it please your Majesty. We do not want to choose your Prime Minister: that were an encroachment, indeed: we wish your Majesty to choose him: we do not wish to tell you whom you shall choose: we only want to tell you whom you shall not choose.

KING. So, then, you are to have a *veto* upon the exercise of my prerogative! You have, indeed, undergone a great deal, my Lord Chancellor. A man must undergo a great deal in getting from under a coal-merchant's roof to sit thirty years upon the wool-

sack. He picks up, generally, some little things on his way; and, I dare say, that these enormous services and sufferings of yours have not been wholly unrewarded, either in your own person or that of your relations, whose names I find opposite the statement of pretty good annual sums. Let them keep what they get; let me keep my prerogative; do what you please with your gains; but, if you have more counsel to spare than you want for other purposes, keep it to yourself, and let me choose whom I please for my Minister. And, now (turning to Wellington), pray what may your pretensions be, for coming to remonstrate with me on the subject of appointing my Minister?

WELLINGTON. What my pretensions! A Wellesley asked for his pretensions!

KING. Yes, I ask for your pretensions, even to *think* about a matter like this.

WELLINGTON. Why, Sir, am not I a Field Marshal; am not I a Knight, a Baron, a Viscount, an Earl, a Marquess, and a Duke; am not I a pensioner for life (with two succeeding lives after me) for 4000*l.* a year, to come out of the taxes raised on the people; have not I had settled upon me, from the same source; seven hun-

dred thousand pounds in money, in public money, to be laid out in lands and houses to be enjoyed by me and to descend to my family; am not I, even at this moment, Master General of the Ordnance, Commander-in-Chief of the army, the Colonel of *two* regiments, Constable of the Tower of London, Governor of Plymouth, the Lord Lieutenant of a county; and do not the people say that they should not wonder if I were to be the next Archbishop of Canterbury?

KING. Well, then, I dare say that you have thought the Constitution very wise in having given me the power to sanction all these numerous and enormous grants and appointments; will you not, then, look upon that Constitution as equally wise when it gives me power to exercise my prerogative in choosing a Minister?

WELLINGTON. I don't know that. My merit was so great, my services so transcendant, the glory I brought upon the country so far beyond all estimate, that.....

KING. I have read all about that in the account of your own *Peerage*, where you are represented as something little short of a god; little short of the God of England; and where care has been taken to speak of the "*unsuccessful expedition*" of my late brother.

WELLINGTON. Why, may it please your Majesty, the truth ought to be spoken.

KING. According to this rule, the enormous expense of your campaigns ought not to be overlooked. Your "unsuccessful" campaigns ought to be remembered as well as your successful ones. The great aid which you received from foreign armies, paid for by the nation, ought not to be forgotten; the circumstance of your never having triumphed, except in countries where a large part, and even a majority of the people were on your side, ought to be recollected; and, above all things, the nation had a right to ask, why you were not in those campaigns on the other side of the Atlantic, where there was a brave and united people to combat, and where the armies who had served under you had to experience campaigns not less "unsuccessful" than those which the account of your peerage ascribes to my brother. *There* it was where the English army had to meet its match; and there you were not. There no subsidies could be of any avail. There money, except to pay soldiers and purchase arms, was useless. Victories were not to be purchased there. That was the close, the winding up of the

long war; and, if you take to yourself all the glory of what are called the victories in Portugal, Spain, France, and the Netherlands, take also to yourself the lamentable negative successes of America, or, tell the nation, before you come to remonstrate with me, why, if you had the power, you did not go and prevent the occurrences on the other side of the Atlantic.

WELLINGTON. But, has your Majesty forgotten, then, the ever-memorable, renowned, immortal, and super-human victory at Waterloo?

KING. Faith, I am not likely to forget that, as long as there are the means of writing the word, either with brush or chisel; for, it has been stuck up upon every place where it would not be a nuisance indictable at common law for sticking it up. From the Achilles in Hyde Park down to the lowest of sign-posts, the word has been blazoned; and, I am told that a great part of my subjects who see the statue, take Achilles for you, your name being on the pedestal in such very **LARGE LETTERS**, and all the rest of the letters on the inscription being so very small that they take the image of the colossal warrior to be a veritable image-

of you. Achilles was invulnerable except in one little point: that point was, at last, found out: take care, my Lord Duke, or you will, in this respect, at any rate, be worthy of having Achilles for your prototype!

WELLINGTON. But, your Majesty will allow that the victory of Waterloo was beyond all praise and all reward?

KING. Your peerage has told me as much: it has told me and my poor, taxed people, that "a due measure of gratitude for such services as yours could not have been rendered; but that the nation did its best." Your peerage (the grammar of which speaks but too plainly its real author) has told me and my burthened people that your services were the most sublime efforts of human prudence and courage; it has told us that the victory at Waterloo was "unparalleled in all its features as well as in the vastness of its consequences, and raised the character of this hero to a height never before attained by any captain." What! not by Alexander the Great; not by Cæsar; not by Pompey; not by Hannibal; not by Scipio; not by any of the ancients; not by Saint Louis; not by Francis

the First; not by Richard the First; not by the Black Prince; not by Henry the Fifth; not by Nelson; not by any one that ever existed upon the face of the earth before: if this be so, and if it were impossible for a due measure of reward to be rendered for your services; if all your appointments, all your pensions, all your grants, all the hundreds of thousands drained out of the sweat of this nation; if the nation did ITS BEST, and yet did not reward you sufficiently, it would be much better for the nation never to have received such services. It had nothing left to give you, but *my crown*; and, really, the crown is but a poor empty bauble, if you be permitted, either directly or indirectly, to take from me my prerogative. Besides, as to this battle of Waterloo, did you not know that you had the better part of a million of men at your back, and that poor BUONAPARTE had not a single man, and was, besides, beset by traitors and spies, ready to betray and to sell him? And, as to the mere battle itself, it is notorious (else thousands upon thousands are liars) that the battle was won by the extraordinary valour and daring of a man who may probably be your Grace's successor.

WASHINGTON. (*Raising his head very high, and looking towards Melville*). Then, may it please your Majesty, I have nothing more to say.

KING. Very well. And, now, my Lord of the Admiralty, pray favour me with a statement of your peculiar pretensions. I am aware of the versatility of your talents. I recollect that you are Keeper of the Signet in Scotland, with a salary of 2,069*l.* a year; that you are Register of Seisins or Chief Baron of Exchequer in Scotland, with a salary of 2,269*l.* a year; that you are other things besides these; but, these I particularly recollect; that you have had these for about twenty-seven years, and that you have, thus, merely through the means of these sinecures, received from out of the pockets of my people, 117,126*l.* or thereabouts.

MELVILLE. But, will it not please your Majesty to recollect the long services of my *exorable* father?

KING. "Least said is soonest mended," about him; and I do not wish to trip up old grievances. But, if you will place this upon me, I shall cause you to recollect a great many things which the history of his life afforded, to make me resist distasteful in-house

like the present. I knew that he trimmed all India with Scotchmen. I knew that he then took to the navy; and that you, his successor, have trodden faithfully in his steps. The DUNDASSES, the HOPES, the HORN JONESTONES and the JONESTONE HOPES swarm in that service, where, for ages and ages, a Scotch name never made its appearance.

MELVILLE. But, will it please your Majesty to reflect on the prodigious merit of the Scotch, and, particularly, of the Dundas family in all its branches? Look into the army list; look into the navy list; look into all the lists of place-men, pensioners, grantees. But, particularly, look into that of the navy, which you will find bespangled with their names as the lawn before your Majesty's cottage would be bespangled with daisies, if the sky were not employed with unremitting vigilance. There your Majesty will see whole strings of the HORN JONESTONES, the JONESTONE HOPES and the Dundasses, lieutenants or captains, while thousands and thousands of Englishmen who were at sea before the former were born, are still midshipmen, though the grey hairs are thickly scattered on their heads.

KING. What has the power of

appointing these people to be lieutenants and captains?

KING. It is I, may it please your Majesty; and I always appoint and promote men merely for the sake of their merit; merely for the benefit of your Majesty and the country. And, to give your Majesty a proof, an *incontestable* proof of the surprising talent and merit of our family; I need only mention that there is my own son, a youth of twenty-two or twenty-three years of age, a **POST CAPTAIN** in your Majesty's navy; while there are nearly five thousand Englishmen, still lieutenants or midshipmen, every dull devil of whom was at sea, and many of them fighting long before that William's youth was born.

KING. That is a "*proof*," indeed, of the great genius and merit of your family; but, you seem to forget that, in that respect, at any rate, the Prime Minister whom I have chosen stands upon a level with yourself; for, he has a son of such surprising genius and merit, that, though, I believe, a year or so younger than your son, he has been, even by yourself, made a post-captain in the navy, over the heads of thousands upon thousands who were sailing and fighting while he was in the cradle. That which is sauce for the goose,

my Lord, is sauce for the gander; and, if I am to take the appointment of your son as a proof of the merit of the Dandasses, let me, I pray you, consider the appointment of **WILLIAM PITT CANNING**, as a proof of the wonderful talent and merit of the Canninges. Now (turning to Lord Bathurst) pray, my Lord, on what grounds is it that you come to press your remonstrances upon me in this case?

BATHURST. Need I request your Majesty to look at the quiet, the prosperous, the harmonious, the happy state in which the colonies have been placed under my sway? If your Majesty were to read speeches, I would beg you to condescend to read mine (*King, aside: that would be better than hearing them*), or those of my secretary, **WILMOT HORTON**, or **HORTON WILMOT**. There your Majesty would learn how happy we mean to make the Irish, by sending them to Canada, and laying out more money upon each man than would place that man in easy circumstances in Ireland. There your Majesty would learn all the profundity of our political philosophy, all the brilliancy of our schemes of emigration.

KING. But, what has this to do with the exercise of my prerogative?

tive; and what right does it give you to interfere in a case of this sort?

BATHURST. If your Majesty will look into the great volume of sinecures, you will find my surprising merit confessed, from my youth. It will hardly be contended, except by some jacobin, some *membre du club quatre-vingt-neuf*, that such rewards are given improperly. There must be, of course, surprising capacity; great fitness to counsel the Sovereign, before such rewards are bestowed. For pretty nearly the whole of my lifetime, I have been receiving the amount of one sinecure of 1,610*l.* a year, which sinecure is to descend to my son, and be by him enjoyed. This son has another sinecure of 472*l.* a year, and this sinecure he has by patent for life. Besides these, I myself was, for a great many years, MASTER and WORKER of your Majesty's Mint, with a salary or income, net receipt, of 3,010*l.* a year. So that, here is a thing, all put together, of, perhaps, the value of a couple of hundreds of thousands of pounds. Now, it would be a libel on that constitution, that fine affair, that wonderful scheme of Government, which is the envy of surrounding nations and admiration of the

world; it would be a glaring libel on this glorious constitution, to affect not to believe that nothing short of distinguished merit, profound wisdom, perfect disinterestedness, and ardent zeal for the service of your Majesty and your people, could have obtained for me and my son (not to mention many other of their connexions) these immense sums of the public money. The fact relative to these sinecures, therefore, I put forward as undoubted proof of my fitness to interfere with your Majesty upon the present occasion.

KING. There are, however, my Lord Bathurst, people who would question the conclusiveness of this proof, as you call it; but, taking you on your own ground, allowing this proof to be indubitable, the claim of merit is, unfortunately for you, clearly established on the part of the statesman whom I have chosen for my Minister, and against which choice you protest; for, *he has the happiness to be a sinecure placeman, too!* At his son's early promotion in the navy was a conclusive answer to Lord Melville, so his having been, just thirty years, come next November, RECEIVER-GENERAL in the Alienation office, with a salary of 492*l.* 4*l.* 7*d.* a year, amounting now to 14,767*l.* 1*s.*

say nothing about his famous Ambassadorship to Portugal, where there was at the time no sovereign and no court, ought to be an answer to you.

BATHURST. But, may it please your Majesty, what are fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds compared with the sums which I have received?

KING. You must take the will for the deed: I dare say he got as much as he could: you have been lucky, my lord, heretofore: his time of luck is come now, and, I have not the smallest doubt that if the species of proof of merit for which your lordship contends be to be admitted, he will not long be destitute of proof of that kind in abundance as great as that of the best of you.

WESTMORELAND. Will your Majesty please to hear ME speak, especially as I have but very little to say? I take the doctrine of my noble friend who has just spoken to be a doctrine established by the practice of this glorious constitution, which, as my noble friend has truly observed, is, beyond all doubt, the "envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world."

KING. Well, well; get on to the point, my Lord: to the point.

WESTMORELAND. What I ob-

ject to, may it please your Majesty, is, not so much the want of a natural and loyal propensity in your newly chosen Minister to obtain a due share of those things which my noble friend has justly characterized as the indubitable proof of merit and wisdom, and particularly of wisdom, as his want of those numerous descendant and collateral branches, vulgarly called family connexions, which are so essential to support the influence of the crown against a constantly encroaching democracy. I, may it please your Majesty, am blessed in this way, almost beyond the extent of man's wishes. Look at the list of my relations and dependents; look at the figure they cut in all the *lists* where people ought to cut a figure; and then all I have to add is, that when Mr. Canning shall have a tribe equally numerous and equally well provided for, I am ready to sanction his appointment.

KING. All this appears to me to be very unreasonable, my Lords. My Minister is, surely, not to be deemed unfit merely because he has not yet had an opportunity of collecting together and providing for a numerous set of relations and dependants. Still, however, he has not been altoge-

they wanting in this respect. He has provided for Mrs. HUNN and her daughters; there is a Captain HUNN, too, now in the navy. There is a STRATFORD CANNING, who is a pretty well fed ambassador; and, in short, the man seems to have done what he can in this way; he is not to blame because he has not been a great breeder; if he provide for all, what can you wish for more? I dare say, that my people will not complain against him on this score: they may probably wish that he had less relations than he has; and, for my part, I must confess that I agree with my people in this respect. And now then, (turning to Bexley), let me hear the ground of little Van's objection.

BEXLEY. May it please your Majesty, before I state any objection to the appointment of my friend, Mr. Canning, I beg to be suffered to state my own humble pretensions to advise. About forty years ago, I carried a brief-bag to the quarter sessions of the county of Berks. Of the contents of that bag, I will not presume to trouble your Majesty with an account. Feeling myself destined to greatness, and to shine as a financier of this United Empire, I wrote a pamphlet in praise of the money-schemes of Pitt and

Company, proving that the war was just and necessary; that it tended to enrich and not to impoverish the country; that, unlike all former wars, it tended to make your Majesty's subjects easy in their circumstances and to promote prosperity amongst them for ages to come.

KING. What! Did you prove all this, do you say?

BEXLEY. Yes, may it please you, as clear as the noon-day sun; and Sir FRANCIS D'IVERNOIS, a Swiss emigrant, pensioned by Pitt, translated my book, and wrote a book of his own to confirm all my doctrines and all my statements; after which I became an Honourable Commissioner of SCOTCH HERRINGS.

KING. But, it was all false then, or else the nation is now in a prosperous state. But, now I think of it, was it not you, who, in the year 1811, moved, in the House of Commons, a resolution, which that house adopted by a very large majority, which resolution expressed that a one pound note, and a shilling were, to all intents, and purposes, equal in value to a golden guinea of full weight and fineness; and did not you vote for propositions, in 1819, in that same house of Commons, founded upon the acknowledged fact, that

a one-pound note and a shilling had been worth, in that very 1811, six shillings less than a golden guinea of full weight and fineness? Were not you the man, the financier, that thus acted upon these two occasions?

BEXLEY. The same, may it please your Majesty: the very same man.

KING (*Turning round towards Peel*). Enough of this honourable Commissioner of Scotch herrings; and now, I have great curiosity to know the ground, Sir, upon which you presume to put on an air of dictation to your sovereign.

PEEL (*With a sort of smirk on his countenance*). Your Majesty, I presume, is well aware of who I am. There wants nothing, I venture to observe, to prove the identity of my person, or the station which I fill in the state. Your Majesty, the whole nation; the whole world; the universe entire, have heard the name of PEEL.

KING. With the word *garlick* at the end of it, we have, most of us, heard of it; but, really, Sir, the universe, I believe, knows very little of it in its detached state.

PEEL. Has not your Majesty read in the Baronetcy, that my father had a "PRESENTIMENT THAT HE SHOULD BE THE FOUNDER OF A FAMILY"?

KING. Not a family to oust mine; I hope. I have heard or read or something, that you are the son of one ROBERT PEEL, who was a very lucky fellow in the spinning of cotton; that, by the incessant toil of thousands of poor creatures, he gained an immense sum of money; that, when PITT and DUNDAS set on foot a voluntary contribution for the carrying on of the war against France, this Robert Peel put his name down for ten thousand pounds; that, not long after this, my father was advised to make him a *baronet*; that he has continued to grow rich; and that, in fact, he is now become one of those who possess that sort of power in this country, of which my people so bitterly complain; that, as to yourself, you, in all human probability, owe your elevation much more to him than to any body else; and that, I cannot recollect any one instance in which you have distinguished yourself in a way that bespeaks capacity, exceeding that of other men; nor which does on any account, whatever, warrant you in pressing your advice against the opinion of any man of experience, much less against the opinion of your sovereign.

PEEL. What! I am surprised! Is it possible that your Majesty

never heard of my great statesmanlike lawgiving measure, which was productive at last of that miracle of legislation, commonly called "PEEL'S BILL"?

KING. Yes, I have heard of that; a great deal too much of its sorrowful effects; and, if you had been able justly to estimate this act of your life, I should not have been honoured with your presence this day, and especially upon an errand like that on which you are come. My subjects, from one end of the kingdom to the other, have, class by class, suffered, and deeply suffered, from that destructive measure. I remember well, when, in the year 1819, the Speaker of the House of Commons congratulated me on the adoption of that measure. I remember that I was told by him, that, after months of deliberation, the scheme had been happily effected; that it had been brought to maturity by a combination of the greatest of talents, wisdom and zeal; that he assured me that the measure would be productive of most beneficial results, and that it would reflect lasting honour on those who had brought it to perfection. Instead of these anticipated results, the mischievous measure almost instantly began to show that ruin

and misery to class after class, to thousands upon thousands and millions upon millions were to be its final effects. Day by day, from the time of its adoption to the present hour, it has been bringing forth some new calamity. Changed backward and forward it has been, twice; and it must be now changed a third time and be abandoned for ever, with the curses of the whole nation upon its head, or, it will inevitably produce an overthrow of the state of itself. So that, this being the only measure in which you ever bore any conspicuous part, you have, indeed, grounds whereon to be a dictator to your King!

PEEL. May it please your Majesty, the unfortunate consequences of my measure are not to be ascribed to me, any more than the breaking of glass by a hail-storm is to be ascribed to the man who has the care of the house. The man cannot help the hail-storm, nor could I help the fatal consequences of which your Majesty has been speaking. What no one could foresee took place, and, then, the bill, which was good in itself, became fatal in its operation.

KING. What do you say: Was there *no one* to foresee the consequences?

COBBETT. (*In a whisper, peeping out from behind the curtain.*) Push him upon that point. Try his shuttle there.

PEEL. No, may it please your Majesty. Even Mr. Tierney, that veteran politician, could not see any evil from the Bill. Lord Grenville, Lord Lansdown, the divine Liverpool, Mr. Abercrombie, the great David Ricardo, all congratulated the Houses upon the Bill, and even he whom your Majesty has now chosen for your Minister, called for an unanimous vote in favour of the Bill, and when he had got it, exclaimed, "*now the question is set at rest for ever!*"

KING. But I have been told; and, indeed, I have read, that there was a man, who, as soon as your Bill was proposed, as soon as its intended contents were known; as soon as any thing like an adequate description of its contents got abroad, that there was a man, not only to tell you that such a Bill, if passed, could never be carried into effect, without burying the country in ruin; who not only told you this beforehand, but who proved it to you clearly as day-light; and depicted the consequences of the measure, the embarrassment, the ruin, the breaking up of farmers

and tradesmen, the robbing of landlords of their estates, the want of employment, the beggary, the starvation, and every consequence, even to the lowest consequence, not only in substance but in manner, that has been produced by your vain, blundering and fatal Bill, which is, even at this hour, working more mischief than ever, and making it, with many men of great understanding, a serious question, whether a general convulsion be or be not to be avoided!

PEEL. But, may it please your Majesty, that one man was an individual of the name of Cobbett; not at all worthy of the attention of your Majesty's Ministers.

KING. But, if the thing was foreseen and foretold, of what consequence is it by whom it was done? One thing is clear, at any rate, that if I had had that same individual for a Minister, all these calamities would have been avoided.

COBBETT. (*In a whisper, peeping out.*) You must have me yet, or you have seen only the beginning of the mischief.

PEEL. A Minister! God preserve your Majesty from suffering such an individual to possess power of any kind or in any degree!

KING. Why, Mr. Peel, I really cannot see how it is possible for the individual, as you call him, and as he was called by a spitten upon fellow in the north; I really cannot see how it is possible for him to do more mischief than you have done; and, indeed, it is preposterous to presume that he who warned you, beforehand, of the mischief which you would produce, and who must, for his *own sake*, be, above all things, desirous to repair the mischief, and to make the King and country grateful to him; it is preposterous to believe that he would not propose to me measures calculated to effect something, at any rate, for bettering the situation of the country.

PEEL. But, Sir, the Minister whom you have chosen, has pledged himself to carry through the principles of my Bill.

KING. If he have, let him take the consequences to himself. I have given no such pledge: he is, at any rate, as fit as any of you to carry on my affairs: your disliking him, is a proof that he will produce a change of some sort or other; and, as any change must be for the better, I shall persevere in my choice, and you may retire as you came.

This is much about what ought to

take place upon such an occasion, and might take place, with very little, if any, departure from the truth. I hope, with all my soul, that the King will persevere; if he do, he will overtake every faction that can assail him. As to Canning himself, as *Canning*, nobody cares any thing about him; but there are millions that care a great deal about maintaining the just and legitimate prerogative of the King. No small part of our sufferings have arisen from this prerogative having, in fact, been taken out of his hands. He has been kept totally cut off from his people. His people have too great a desire to be freed from their present oppressions, not to wish most anxiously for the restoration, the complete restoration and full exercise of the royal authority. Let the King persevere; and we shall soon see that the factions will vanish before him.

What Canning will do with these poor old devils the Whigs, is the most puzzling part of the question. He must give them sops in some way or other, or else they will turn tail upon him, upon pinching occasions. If he take in Brougham and Tisney and Mackintosh, and give no share of the fat things to the others, the others will be jealous, disown the author

rity, of their leaders, and join
 upon a pinch, with the powerful
 foes of the Minister. In the mean-
 while, the Paper-money Bill will
 be going on, reducing, gradually,
 the price of the bushel of wheat :
 the landowners, the farmers, the
 traders and merchants, will not
 reflect on the true cause of the
 decline of price and of the conse-
 quent ruin. The mischief will be
 ascribed to this measure, to that
 measure, but generally to a want
 of talent and wisdom in the Mi-
 nister, who will be badgered to
 death, and, not knowing any thing
 at all of the true cause himself ;
 being, as to such matters, as igno-
 rant as he was when he was cap-
 tain at Eton, he will be constantly
 in a state of uncertainty as to the
 effect of any steps that he may
 take, and the whole thing may
 actually be blown to atoms before
 he will begin to think seriously of
 the danger. He is just as fit for
 the undertaking as the best of his
 colleagues was : as to this great
 matter they were all upon a level ;
 but, he is not likely to be content
 and to let the thing go on as long
 as it will go ; and, therefore, his
 elevation is favorable to the peo-
 ple. Nobody can save the Thing ;
 that is quite certain ; but, by being
 let alone a good deal ; by letting
 the paper come out in great bales
 and run itself down, at last, as it

has done in other countries, the
 final blowing up might be some-
 what retarded. At present, all
 that we have to do is to uphold
 the authority of the King to the
 utmost of our power ; and, as the
 reformers have, for years and
 years, complained that those who
 filled the seats ruled both King
 and people, I think it would be
 proper, and I strongly recommend,
 that they now address the King for
 having exercised his royal autho-
 rity, and expressing a hope that he
 will persevere in maintaining that
 authority. I exhort you, my friends,
 in all parts of the country, if you
 can form meetings of only one
 hundred persons, to address the
 King upon this subject ; for, you
 may be well assured that in this
 crisis, his cause and our cause are
 one and the same. Mr. Canning
 can never stand against the com-
 bination with which he is threaten-
 ed, unless he look to the people.
 Here, indeed, he may open his
leash and let out his *spirits* against
 his arrogant opponents. If he do
 this, he may be Minister, perhaps,
 for the remainder of his life ; but,
 if he do not something of this kind,
 he will either be driven from his
 post, or will keep it upon terms
 so degrading as to make life itself
 a burthen and disgrace.

I am, My friends,
 Your Most obedient
 And most humble Servant,
 Wm. COBBETT.

AMERICAN KIDNEY BEANS.

I HAVE two sorts of these, the finest that ever were in England; one of them the very earliest that I ever saw; and the seed, in both cases, so ripe, sound, and excellent, that a large crop from it is certain.—One sort is *Yellow*, the other *Speckled*; both are dwarfs.—Price—17s. a bushel, and smaller quantities in proportion, with something added for paper, string, and trouble.—They are sold at the Office of the Register, No 183, Fleet Street, and may be sent, by order, to any part of the country.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending April 6.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat ..	56	3	Rye	39	3
Barley ..	38	3	Beans ...	47	11
Oats	30	9	Pease ...	48	3

Total Quantity of Corn returned as Sold in the Maritime Districts, for the week ended April 6.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	37,867	Rye	247
Barley ..	15,232	Beans	2,651
Oats ...	11,305	Pease	715

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, April 6.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.		s.	d.	
Wheat..	4,969	for	14,678	0	4	Average,	59	0
Barley..	2,276	..	4,358	6	9	.....	38	3
Oats..	4,164	..	6,640	15	11	.....	31	10
Rye....	—	..	0	0	0	.....	0	0
Beans..	574	..	1,372	17	0	.....	44	4
Pease..	277	..	643	14	0	.....	46	5

Wednesday, April 11.—The supplies of all English Grain this week

are small, but there is a good quantity of Foreign Oats entered. Wheat remains without alteration from Monday's report. Barley and Beans fully support the terms of last market day. Pease meet a very dull trade. Oats do not find buyers so readily as last Monday, but prices remain the same.

Monday, April 16.—During the past week there were moderate quantities of all sorts of Grain except Oats, the foreign arrivals of which were considerable; and this morning there are several more vessels from abroad fresh up with this Grain. Of Wheat, Barley, Beans, and Pease, the supply fresh in to-day is moderate. The report of Flour is still considerable, which keeps that trade in a dull state; and the Wheat trade to-day may be stated very dull at the quotations of last Monday, for all except superfine samples.

Barley does not sell so freely as of late, but prices are unaltered. Beans meet rather more demand, and are advanced 1s. per quarter. Pease are unaltered. The chief part of the large foreign supply of Oats is going to granary in bond, to wait till after the 15th of May, when the average prices are expected to bring the duty to 4d. per quarter under the old Corn Laws, the trade, therefore, fully maintains last quotations, with a fair sale. The recent changes in the Cabinet, render it doubtful whether the New Corn Bill will pass the House of Lords.

Account of Wheat &c. arrived in the Port of London, from April 9 to April 14, both inclusive.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ...	4,058	Tares	631
Barley ..	1,923	Linseed ..	—
Malt	4,841	Rapeseed ..	860
Oats	904	Brank ..	324
Beans	546	Mustard ..	15
Flour	8,903	Flax	—
Rye	770	Hemp	59
Pease	486	Seeds	108

Foreign.—Wheat, 200; Barley, 664; Oats, 38,298; and Beans, 443 qrs.

Monday, April 16.—The arrivals from Ireland last week were, 454 firkins of Butter, and 1,200 bales of Bacon; and from Foreign Ports, 11,152 casks of Butter.

HOPS.

Price of Hops, per Cwt. in the Borough.

Monday, April 16.—Our market is improving, and many sales were effected during last week at an advance of from 2s. to 4s. per cwt. The reports from the plantations are, the plant is weakly, and the flea very prevalent.

Maidstone, April 12.—There has been some little inquiry about the few lots of Hops left in this neighbourhood, but we have not heard of any sales, so that the trade remains much the same.

COAL MARKET, April 11.

Ships at Market. Ships sold. Price.

27 Newcastle 19½ .. 31s. 3d. to 37s. 9d.
13 Sunderland 9 .. 36s. 0d. to 39s. 0d.

SMITHFIELD.

Monday, April 16.—The Lamb season in this market begins, according to custom, on Good Friday; we were, therefore, well supplied with Lambs, but scantily of Beef and Mutton. There was no variation in the price of Beasts; Mutton sold on higher terms than this day se'nnight; but Lamb remained at the rates last quoted.—To-day our supply is very limited of every thing; so that better terms are obtained for all kinds of Meat. The current top price for Beef is, 5s. 2d.; Old Down Mutton, 6s.; and choice Leicester, 5s. 10d. in the wool. Lamb goes off readily at from 6s. 4d. to 7s. The supply of Lincoln Beasts and Sheep unusually short.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	4	0	to	5 2
Mutton ...	4	8	—	6 0
Veal	5	4	—	6 0
Pork	4	6	—	5 6
Lamb	6	4	—	7 0
Beasts ...	1,662	Sheep ...	12,120	
Calves ...	120	Pigs ...	80	

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	6	to	4 6
Mutton ...	4	2	—	5 2
Veal	3	8	—	5 8
Pork	3	8	—	5 8
Lamb	6	0	—	7 0

LEADENHALL, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef ...	3	0	to	4 4
Mutton ...	4	0	—	5 0
Veal	3	8	—	5 4
Pork	4	0	—	5 8
Lamb	5	0	—	7 0

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS, per Ton.

Ox-Nobles.....	3 15	to	4 0
Middlings.....	2 10	—	0 0
Chats.....	2 0	—	0 0
Common Red..	4 0	—	0 0
Onions, Or. Od.—0s. Od.	per bush.		

BOROUGH, per Ton.

Ox-Nobles.....	3 10	to	4 5
Middlings.....	2 10	—	0 0
Chats.....	2 0	—	0 0
Common Red..	4 0	—	0 0

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay.....	90s.	to	115s.
Straw.....	40s.	to	45s.
Clover.....	100s.	to	135s.
St. James's.—Hay.....	84s.	to	120s.
Straw.....	42s.	to	48s.
Clover.....	120s.	to	135s.
Whitechapel.—Hay.....	84s.	to	145s.
Straw.....	35s.	to	45s.
Clover.....	90s.	to	135s.

AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN, sold in the Maritime Counties of England and Wales, for the Week ended April 6, 1897.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
London.....	58	9	39	0	32	0
Essex.....	58	6	36	0	30	10
Kent.....	56	7	37	6	29	8
Sussex.....	55	2	37	6	29	2
Suffolk.....	55	3	35	4	31	2
Cambridgeshire.....	53	4	33	4	27	3
Norfolk.....	54	6	36	6	32	5
Lincolnshire.....	55	10	39	2	28	0
Yorkshire.....	55	6	41	4	30	4
Durham.....	56	0	42	7	38	10
Northumberland.....	53	9	37	1	33	2
Cumberland.....	62	6	39	6	34	0
Westmoreland.....	62	3	46	0	37	0
Lancashire.....	62	0	38	7	39	2
Cheshire.....	60	2	48	0	34	0
Gloucestershire.....	58	0	43	11	40	9
Somersetshire.....	55	3	40	9	28	3
Monmouthshire.....	59	9	47	9	0	0
Devonshire.....	56	7	37	8	30	2
Cornwall.....	58	4	38	4	33	2
Dorsetshire.....	55	1	38	8	34	0
Hampshire.....	56	1	39	9	31	0
North Wales.....	63	5	43	4	32	4
South Wales.....	67	11	41	8	26	8

* The London Average is always that of the Week preceding.

Liverpool, April 10.—The arrivals in the week have been considerable in Wheat, Flour, and Oats, the great bulk of the latter from Ireland; the demand has been languid, and prices of last week barely supported; in other articles no alteration, except in Indian Corn, for which there has been a good demand, at an advance of 1s. per quarter of 480 lbs., the weight sold by here; this article is getting into general use in this neighbourhood, as well as in Ireland; heavy shipments have been made from this to the latter place. In Bonded Grain nothing doing. Considerable sales have been made in Bonded Flour, for exportation to Jamaica and Newfoundland, and I have to notice a small improvement in price.

Imported into Liverpool, from April 3, to April 9, 1847, inclusive:—Wheat, 7,134; Barley, 167; Oats, 17,356; Rye, 848; Malt, 2,848; Beans, 1,660; Pease, 315 quarters. Flour, 3,932 sacks, per 280 lbs.; and Oatmeal, 212 packs, per 240 lbs.

Bristol, April 14.—The Corn markets here are very dull, except for prime Barley, which sells pretty well at last week's prices. Good Oats appear rather more in demand than they have been; ordinary sorts heavy. Below are about the present prices:—Wheat, from 6s. to 7s. 6d.; Barley, 4s. 6d. to 6s.; Beans, 5s. 6d. to 8s.; Oats, 3s. 11d. to 4s.; and Malt, 6s. to 8s. 3d. per bushel; Imperial. Flour, Seconds, 52s. to 43s. per bag.

Guildford, April 14.—Wheat, new, for meal, 14l. 10s. to 16l. 15s. per load. Barley, 38s. to 42s.; Oats, 32s. to 42s.; Beans, 54s. to 58s.; Pease, grey, 60s. to 62s.; ditto, boilers, 62s. to 64s. per quarter.

Horncastle, April 14.—The prices of Grain remain much the same as last week.—Wheat, 50s. to 56s.; Barley, 38s. to 42s.; Oats, 28s. to 36s.; Beans, 55s. to 65s.; and Rye from 40s. to 42s. per quarter.

Ipswich, April 14.—We had to-day a very small market, and prices remain without alteration from last week, as follow:—Wheat, 52s. to 62s.; Barley, 35s. to 41s.; Beans, 46s. to 48s. per quarter; and Pease, none.

Manchester, April 14.—The Corn trade has undergone little or no alteration during the week. To this day's market we had a good show of samples of Wheat of all descriptions, which were offered on the same terms as on this day se'nnight, without being able to effect sales; the consumers being well stocked, preferred waiting a week or two longer. In other articles so little doing, as not to be sufficient to warrant any alteration from the prices of this day week.

Newcastle-on-Tyne, April 14.—We had a good supply of Wheat from the farmers this morning, which was readily taken off by the millers at 1s. per quarter advance. Rye continues in demand, and is a trifle dearer. The arrivals of Norfolk Barley have been all sold at last week's prices, and as the maling season is drawing to a close, it is not likely that higher prices will be got for the next arrivals. Malt rather more in demand. We had to-day a good supply of Oats from the growers, and some foreign arrivals, but the latter are of very inferior quality, and do not suit the consumption of this district.

Reading, April 14.—We had a fair supply of Wheat at our market this day, the quality of which is still rough. The sale was dull, at much the same prices as last week. We note it 54s. to 67s. per quarter, Imperial measure. There was a middling supply of Barley; it was all taken off for seed at high prices. There was a considerable quantity of Oats, and the trade was heavy. In Beans and Pease no alteration.

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Horncastle, April 14.—Beef, 9s. per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton, 8d.; Pork, 8d.; and Veal, 9d. to 10d. per lb.

Manchester Smithfield Market, April 11.—The supply of Beef and Mutton to this day's market was rather better than last week, and for fat Cattle and Sheep last week's prices were fully supported, whilst lean inferior qualities were dull sale. What few Calves appeared at market were taken off at last week's rates. There is a better demand for Pigs, but the prices remain the same as last advised.—Beef, 4½d. to 8d.; Mutton, 7d. to 9d.; Veal, 5½d. to 6½d.; and Pork, 5d. to 6d. per lb. sinking offal.

Norwich Castle Meadow, April 14.—We had a large supply of fat Cattle to this day's market, which met a ready sale at 7s. 6d. to 8s. 6d. per stone of 14 lbs. sinking offal; the show of Store Stock was also large; Scots sold at 4s. to 4s. 6d. per stone of what they will weigh when fat; Shorthorns, 3s. to 3s. 9d.; Cows and Calves, and Homebreds of one and two years old, selling rather better.—Meat: Beef, 6½d. to 9d.; Veal, 6d. to 8d.; Mutton, 6d. to 7½d.; Lamb, 9d.; and Pork, 6d. to 8d. per lb.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

Vol. 62.—No. 5.] LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 28, 1827. [Price 6d.



“ Quand il est question d'estimer la puissance publique, le bel-esprit visite les palais du prince, ses ports, ses troupes, ses arsenaux, ses villes; le vrai politique parcourt les terres, et va dans la chaumière du laboureur. Le premier voit ce qu'on a fait, et le second ce qu'on peut faire.”—ROUSSEAU.

When the business is to make a just estimate of the public resources, the shallow pretender visits the palaces of the Prince, his ports, his troops, his arsenals, his cities; the true politician traverses the land, and goes amongst the country people, and visits the cottage of the labourer. The first sees what *has been done*; and the second sees that which *can be done*.

TO THE KING.

ON THE INTRIGUES NOW ON FOOT, AND ON THE MEASURES NECESSARY TO RESTORE THE NATION TO HAPPINESS, AND TO SECURE THE STABILITY OF THE THRONE.

Kensington, 25th April, 1827.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

AMONGST all your Majesty's subjects there is not one who has, in this season of *advice-giving*, fairer pretensions to offer you advice than I have. No one has addressed himself to you so many times, and no one has ever been proved, by time, to have been so correct and so sound in the ad-

vice which he has offered you.

If your Majesty could now read the *volume* (and a large one it would be) of that advice, you could not but exclaim: “ If I had listened to *this*, my people could not now have exhibited to the world that mass of ruin and of wretchedness which they now exhibit.”

I might, with no very great im-

I

propriety, beseech your Majesty to look at the motto to this paper, and then to say whether the observation contained in that motto does not give me some pretension beyond that of any man, who has been in your Majesty's councils for many years past. The sort of knowledge which is there pointed out as belonging to the "*true politician*," has been proved to be possessed by me, to a very great extent, at any rate; and the correspondent who has pointed out the motto to me, takes the opportunity of saying that in that motto are described the character and talents, or rather, sort of knowledge, possessed by the man whom your Majesty has chosen for your Prime Minister; and, on the other hand, the sort of knowledge possessed by me. Mr. CANNING can see that which has been done; but, if he could have seen, as I have so frequently seen and so frequently pointed out, that which can be and which ought to be done, your Majesty would not have met with so many hard rubs as you have already had to encounter, and your Minister would not have found himself in that deplorable state to which he has now been reduced by being possessed of ambition without being possessed of reputation for know-

ledge to justify the gratification of that ambition.

But as I shall, in the latter part of this Letter, take the liberty to offer your Majesty my advice with regard to the measures necessary to restore the nation to happiness and to secure the stability of the throne, it becomes me, out of respect to your Majesty, as well as from a sense of what is due to myself, to state some of the particular instances in which I have offered your Majesty my advice, and in which the nation has experienced the fatal consequences of that advice having been rejected. While your Majesty was Regent, both parties in Parliament concurred, and that, too, by unanimous votes, to enter into a war with the United States of America. Upon that occasion, I, being then shut up in prison, in a felons' gaol, for two years, with a thousand pounds fine upon my head (which thousand pounds were paid to you in behalf of the King), with heavy bail for seven years after the termination of the imprisonment; and all this for having expressed my indignation at the flogging of English local militia-men in the heart of England, under a guard of Hanoverian troops; all this for having expressed my indignation at a

thing which would have driven our forefathers to madness but to think of: I being then shut up in such prison for such cause; seeing that both parties in Parliament were bent upon compelling the Americans to yield to our unjust pretensions; I, thus situated, wrote a series of letters addressed to your Majesty, proving to you that the parties in Parliament were wholly ignorant of the nation which they had to contend with; stating to you most respectfully but most urgently, the reasons to prevent an entering into that war; stating to you that the war must be enormously expensive; that it was next to impossible that it should be attended with success; that all the accounts of disaffection in the American people were false; that they would beat your armies by land, and drive them from their shores; that they would beat your fleets by sea, if they met them with equal force; that the war would finally end with having actually created a navy for America and laid the ground of a maritime power equal to our own; and that all this disgrace and this future danger would be purchased by the people of England by an addition to that enormous Debt, which was already so great as to leave not the smallest

probability of its suffering the nation to remain many years without a terrible convulsion of some sort or other.

I am not relating, may it please your Majesty, any thing said by me in conversation; I am not referring to a talk of a Cornelius Agrippa's man; I am referring to papers *written and published*, and now making part of volumes which will be read, I trust, long after I shall owe allegiance to any body. I am referring to that which many thousands have in their possession; and, if I had written it at the end of the war, instead of having written it before the war began, the description of the consequences could not have been more correct than it was; that war; that heap of disgrace intolerable, added *seventy millions to the Debt*. The interest of that seventy millions is, probably, equal in amount to all the tax which your poor subjects now pay on their *soap, candles, and leather*! It would have been something, then, to have prevented the necessity of continuing to impose those taxes; and this, to say nothing about the disgrace and the creation, the actual creation of a great navy in America; to have prevented the continuing of these taxes would have been more than your Minister,

Mr. CANNING, is, even if he were well disposed, able to accomplish during the remainder of his life, be that life as long as it may. It is curious enough, too, that this very Mr. CANNING treated with the utmost contempt, sent off with the brightest of his jokes, all the apprehensions of danger from a war with America. His memorable witticism on the half-dozen of frigates with bits of striped bunting flying at their mast heads was, perhaps, together with other observations from him and men like him in the same strain, the real source of all the mischief. This bantering; this contemptuous talk with respect to America, blinded the nation; they could see no danger in a war with such a contemptible power; and, hence the war was as popular as it was unwise and unjust. That war has not even yet ceased to *draw new sums from us*; and, it will continue to draw new sums from us for a good long life-time yet to come, if this system can be kept on foot so long.

Many other are the occasions on which I have thought it my duty to address your Majesty; but, I beg to refer, particularly, to three letters addressed to your Majesty from Long Island, in the year 1819. In those letters, I

took the liberty to explain to you the nature of the paper-money; to show you how a mere company of merchants had been enabled to take from you in reality the greatest and most important of all your prerogatives, the making and issuing of the measure or standard of value. Your Ministers, and this Mr. CANNING amongst the rest, did, a little more than a twelve-month ago, put forth this very doctrine of mine as their own. They pretended to have discovered, all at once, that your prerogative had been invaded; but, they took care not to remind you that this had been pointed out to you seven years before. In a subsequent series of letters, published towards the close of 1819, after the Speaker of the Commons had congratulated you on the passing of Peel's Bill, I besought your Majesty to believe that that Bill never could be carried into effect, without endangering your very throne. There are the letters now: every line of them is a, now, *verified prophecy*; and, if your Majesty would now condescend to read them through, you must and you would exclaim: "Had I followed this man's advice: "had I listened to this, none of "the present horrible distresses "and miseries would have afflicted "my people, and I should not

“have been called upon to issue
 “something approaching to a
 “command to cause one part of
 “the people to subscribe their
 “money to save another part of
 “them from dying of hunger.”

In the course of the Letters here referred to, I described to your Majesty, all those means, and the intention and effect of those means, which had been made use of to *keep your Majesty at a distance from your people!* I described to your Majesty the natural tendency of a regulation which prevented your subjects from approaching your person. I described the object of those regulations. I described the intention of the New-Treason-Bill, made for the avowed purpose of giving your Majesty's person *protection against your subjects*, greater than any king ever had before your father; and I asked you, whether it were *you* that thought that you stood in need of this. I observed, at the same time, that it has been made treason, high treason, to do any thing in order to induce the two Houses, or either House, to act against their will. I expatiated upon all these things, and I showed as clearly as daylight, that they all arose from a desire to play off the king against the people and the people against

the king; and, your Majesty may, perhaps, never have heard it, but, it is nevertheless true, that the reformers, in all their petitions, complain of a body of men, who *rule both king and people* at their pleasure, who must continue to do this, who must, finally, totally ruin the people, and bring the crown into jeopardy, unless the king, on his part, were restored to the full and free exercise of all his prerogatives, and the people, on their part, to a free choice, an uncorrupted choice of the Members of the House of Commons. I besought your Majesty to think well of these things while there was yet time to act; I besought your Majesty to recommend by message to the Parliament, a radical reform of the Commons' House; so that, before the paper-money had thrown all things into confusion and had produced general convulsion, the people might be rendered patient and docile by the confidence which they would undoubtedly have in a House of Commons freely and honestly chosen by themselves.

For the want of such a House of Commons; for the want of any real power in the people, in their present unrepresented or partially represented state; for the want of this it is, that we now witness all

those intrigues, all that caballing, all that conflicting; all that uncertainty, all that chopping backward and forward, both as to men and as to counsels, which must now give your Majesty such exceeding embarrassment. You have not your people at your back; for, though they are with you in their hearts, they have no channel through which to make their approaches toward you, and no organ honestly to declare their will. The thing would be settled in a moment. The choice of your servants, which unquestionably belongs to you, would be the affair of a day, without any intriguing, any paragraph-grinding, any negotiating; all would be over by the declaration of your will, if you had your people at hand to declare their will too. Against king and people, no combination or conspiracy could be successful; but, as things now are, it must be extremely difficult, even for your Majesty yourself to be able to foresee what is to take place as to the appointment of your own servants, who are to bear your seals, to treat with foreign nations, to propose Bills to the Parliament, and to do all other important acts in your name.

The present scene is quite enough to convince any rational man, that this country must fall into something very much like anarchy, unless some very great change take place in the system of governing the country, and, particularly, in managing its pecuniary affairs. We are, now, at the end of a whole month since a Prime Minister was appointed, and, at the end of that month, it is matter of rumour and guess of what persons the Ministry shall

consist. A great body of great men, in point of property and station, oppose themselves to your choice. The people, having no organ through which to make their wishes known, are the same as if they were dumb. The political parties shun Mr. CANNING: all sides seem to say, that they will not be under Mr. CANNING. One of two things, it appears, must take place; he must give way and go out altogether, or must take or keep an office under some other Minister. That he will do this, under one of those queer personages called Whigs, rather than under one of his succeeding and satirising former colleagues, is likely enough; but, even this would only show that he can be spiteful though he cannot be powerful. It is impossible to conceive a situation of greater embarrassment, greater peril, as to character, than the situation in which he now is; and, he has not the consolation of reflecting, that this situation was *unavoidable*. Not only might he have avoided it; but, it is clear that he sought it, not reflecting that he had not the people at his back; and, above all things, not reflecting that he had a Debt, a dead-weight, a poor-rate debt, and an enormous military establishment to provide for; not reflecting, (when he looked back to the days of Pitt's triumph) that the nation was, then, in a state of prosperity; that it was then really recovering from the injuries of war; that Pitt was a *maiden* politician; that Pitt stood upon the reputation of his *father*; that Pitt was able to propose to save millions to pay off the then trifling Debt; that the whole of the taxes then amounted

to only sixteen millions a year, and that the present expenditure cannot be faced with much less than sixty-four millions a year, including the expense of collection.

He did not perceive that which I told him, a few weeks ago, he would perceive, that, though place-hunters were still as fond of salaries as the sparrows are of wheat, though they have changed nothing of their nature, they would see that the wheat was now beset with twigs covered with bird-lime; and that they would be as shy as sparrows are, when they see those twigs surrounding the food which they are so anxious to get at. We are told of negotiations with the Marquess of Lansdown and Mr. Abercrombie. Grand accession to a minister! Mighty rock of strength; but, even these *negotiate*; they do not fly down upon the grain without hesitation; and, as to Lord GREY, the newspapers tell us that he will have nothing to do with the matter. Thus, that very state of things has arisen, which I in my letters from Long Island told your Majesty would arise. The concern is become such, that men will not like to have any thing to do with it; and, if the seven ministers retired for the mere purpose of getting out of the concern, they acted a part pointed out by worldly wisdom, however disrespectful their conduct might be towards your Majesty.

If Mr. Canning should, at last, form a junction with the Whigs, as they are called, and it is evident that he can carry nothing without such junction, then, heterogeneous, indeed, will be the mass of principles which will here

be brought together. Those Whigs must be consigned to everlasting infamy, unless they immediately adopt measures of *retrenchment*. This word has been constantly on their lips for the last twenty years. As great enemies of Parliamentary reform as their opponents; as great enemies of reformers as those were whom they called Tories; but, always calling for "*economical reform*;" always calling for retrenchment in the public expenditure: Mr. CANNING just the contrary; defending every item of expenditure, and carrying the extravagance of his language to that extent, that he asserted, at the opening of the present Session of Parliament, that times of national embarrassment and distress were suitable times for expending large sums of money on palaces and other public works of ornament. He is a man who has invariably defended, with every argument at his command, every species and every degree of expenditure; and who has, with the most biting jests within his reach, with all the sarcasm that he could muster up, ridiculed those who called for a husbanding of the public resources. Will the Whigs, then, join with a man who will make no reforms in point of expenditure? Will they keep in place and keep up the present enormous establishments in time of peace? Will they suffer such immense sums to be expended in the department of ambassadors, envoys and consuls, sums exceeding those expended, I verily believe, by all the other nations in the world put together? Will they not overhaul this enormous dead weight, and condescend to let us know the reason for a man who is a parson receiving pay, at

the same time, as a military officer? Will they not call upon the enormously rich Church of England, to pay back those many hundreds of thousands of pounds which were voted to that Church out of the taxes? Will they not institute an inquiry into the cause of old half-pay officers being permitted to sell their commissions to young men, and of the people being called upon to pay taxes to maintain the widows and children of those young men. Will they not institute an inquiry into any of these things? Will they not *reduce the taxes*? Will they not make good any one of the expectations which they endeavoured to convince people that they might entertain, provided that they came into power?

If they do not; if they take no step of this sort; if they merely come to pocket the money that others pocketed before them, your Majesty will have a Ministry more odious, more detested by the people, than any Ministry that ever existed since your family came to this throne; and the worst of it is, it will be called a Ministry of your choosing. They will endeavour in vain to amuse us with that very pretty, very indefinite, very unmeaning word, *liberality*. I have heard a great deal about this liberality; about liberal principles, and about the liberal principles of Mr. CANNING in particular. This is a very fine word; but we must look to the *acts* to which this word is applied, before we look upon it as characteristic of any thing that is very good to us. In common conversation, to be liberal means to be generous, to be free in letting others share in any good that you possess. Now, the way for Mr. CANNING and the Whigs to

show their liberality towards the people of England; the way to convince us that this liberality is a good thing, would be for them to begin by *reducing their own salaries* nine-tenths, or thereabouts, and thereby leaving more of our money in our own pockets, to be spent by ourselves. They have two ways of showing their liberality: one by cutting short the expenditure, by giving less of our money to other people than they now give; the other, by continuing to raise as much in taxes as ever, and to give as largely as they can, to all manner of persons out of those taxes; or, in other words, being excessively liberal at our expense. This latter is a species of liberality most detestable in itself, loudly calling for our reprobation, and this is precisely that species of liberality which, I verily believe, the Whigs most admire, and which I also believe, they would resolutely put in practice, and with all the brass not only of conscious innocence, but of acknowledged merit.

If we were to be guided in our judgment by what we hear and read every day, we should imagine that the *Catholic question*, as it has been called for the last seven and twenty years, is the great obstacle to Mr. Canning's obtaining suitable colleagues. Those who have any sense know that this is no obstacle at all; that to abandon the question would be popular, rather than otherwise; that it has been abandoned over and over again by those who had pledged themselves to it; that, after Pitt's famous shuffle of 1804, no one can ever be at a loss to abandon that question; and that, too, without the smallest scruple or the smallest danger of

loss of place. That, therefore, may pass for nothing. That keeps no man aloof from place, patronage and emolument. But, there is *another matter*, a matter that is never mentioned by any of the political expounders of these intrigues; a matter that seems to be as carefully kept out of sight, the mention of which seems to be as sedulously avoided, as the mention of halters are said to be in a house where one of the family has been hanged; or, which, perhaps, is a still more complete case, the mention of which is avoided as carefully, with as much anxiety as the pronouncing the word *Portugal* has been, during the last four months, avoided in the House of Commons, though we have an army in that same Portugal, and though several millions of our money, screwed out of a really starving people, have followed and must follow, that army, and for a purpose, which any fellow in Bedlam can explain as clearly as I have, yet, heard it explained.

This other matter, the very naming of which is avoided with such tender concern, is, Mr. Canning's *one pound note affair*! Many of the Whigs are very foolish men; very shallow coxcombs; but, there are some amongst them cunning enough to see that the devil himself is safer to face than wheat at four shillings the Winchester bushel. To face that, your Majesty's new Minister is firmly pledged; for, if he persevere in the Bill which he is pledged to persevere in, to four shillings a bushel the wheat must come. The Whigs are also pledged to this bill: they gave it their support; they urged the Minister on to adopt the measure. They can-

not retract without being hooted through the world, and they cannot go on without blowing the whole system into air, without demolishing the whole fabric of the paper-money; without spreading ruin and real *desolation* over the whole country. They cannot push on this bill without ousting every man from his estate. They will finally see half a million of human beings in this metropolis without bread to put in their mouths; and, after having produced every evil with which a nation can be afflicted, they will only have to contrive and determine what they shall do with themselves.

There are men amongst the Whigs, though I do not believe Lord Lansdown to be one of them, who would not like to be in place when some landlord should move for the *repeal of the malt-tax*: not for a preventing of the supplies from going out of the exchequer, but merely for preventing the taxes from going into it. The repeal of the malt-tax would, in a very short time, operate as a repeal of the beer-tax, the spirit-tax, the tea-tax, a cutting off of the licences for selling these, and, in short, would lop off *twenty millions* of taxes in a year. There goes the system! There goes off Mr. Canning and his new allies in a spare beer-barrel, sailing down the Thames, chanting the blessings of free trade out of the bung-hole! The landowners will not stop the supplies. They will not vote against issuing money to pay the army and the navy and the fund-holders. There they would have the people against them, for, the money being in the exchequer, the people would say,

"pay it out, to those whom you owe it to." But, for a repeal of the malt-tax, all the people would be clamorous. Every man who brews a bushel of malt, and every man, indeed, who drinks beer, and, bad or good, it is drunk by every body, would be for this measure; and, to this measure the landlords will resort, to this measure the landlords must resort, if Mr. CANNING push on his Bill, or every landlord must lose his estate.

Now, may it please your Majesty, this is the great matter of all. Your Majesty wonders, I dare say, what can make any body, and, especially, a Whig, backward to come into office. Your Majesty knows, from long experience, that these are gentry who have no doubt of their talents; that they all look upon themselves as CREILS and WALSINGHAMS; that they think they are, every man of them, the greatest statesmen of the age; and, that they have great affection for the *public shoney*, it were blindness worse than Egyptian to doubt. In plain words, your Majesty knows that it is just as conceited and greedy a set as ever scrambled for place or pelf. You must, therefore, have been very much surprised at their wonderful abstemiousness upon this occasion; but, when you come to perceive that Mr. CANNING and the colleagues whom he retains stand pledged to the extirpation of the one-pound notes, or, in other words, to make wheat sell for four shillings a bushel, you will feel less surprise at this great disinterestedness on the part of your own friends. If he were to break his pledge and they to break theirs along with him, their situation

would be very little mended. The short statement of the case is this, may it please your Majesty: the wheat must come to four shillings a bushel, or the gold will go out of this country, if gold payments continue at the Bank. To avoid either, the Ministry may return to paper-money and legal tender. That would be a breaking of the pledges of Mr. CANNING and his Whig associates; but even that would not prevent a blowing up of the paper-system. Those who are wise, who have, indeed, but a very small share of wisdom, avoid touching any thing so ticklish as this. Hence it is that there is a difficulty in filling up the offices: hence it is that Lord GREY and others stand aloof, and wish to have nothing to do with the matter.

As far as I am able to judge, Lord GREY is the most likely man to be able to form a Ministry fit to effect any thing for the good of the country; but, even Lord GREY can effect nothing without a total blowing up of the paper system. He must take the petition of the county of Norfolk in his hand, he must resolve to adopt measures consonant with the prayers of that petition; or, he is unable to do any thing to rescue this country from its distresses and its dangers. I dare say, that your Majesty would think that I, now, for instance, would think it a great prize to be made your Minister, and that I should be by no means scrupulous about the means and the terms; but, if your Majesty would make me every thing that WELLINGTON was the other day, and make me as rich as the CHANCELLOR is, I would not be your Minister, without your solemn assurance, without your word as a king, to stand

by me while I carried into effect every proposition, all and singular the propositions, contained in the Norfolk Petition. The truth is, self preservation would be my teacher: if I, knowing what I know, and the nation knowing what I know, or, at least, what I have inculcated with so much industry and earnestness; if I were to attempt to carry on the present system, I must be, notoriously, a perjured counsellor of your Majesty, and if I were not to be hanged, I should deserve it. This is the real state of the case. There are men enough, who would accept of offices upon the present occasion; but, they think as I think upon this all important question; they are my disciples, though they have not had the courage to avow it: still less have they the courage to do or to propose to your Majesty to do that which they know ought to be done. They are like proselytes in secret; they want the courage to avow their conviction; but they see the danger, and they wish to keep out of it.

There is, therefore, in my firm opinion, no remedy for the evils that oppress the country; no safe path for your Majesty to pursue; no mode of putting an end to these disgraceful intrigues, so embarrassing to the country and so little honourable to the throne: there is nothing, in my firm conviction, short of an adoption of the prayers of the Norfolk Petition, which, it ought to be remarked, has been imitated by several other counties, and by numerous bodies of men not assembled in county meetings. One of the prayers of that Petition is, however, that there may be a constitutional

reform of the Commons' House of Parliament. This must be, too, a previous measure; it must be a first great step; for, until that step be taken, no other, efficiently, can be taken. Nothing but a reformed House of Commons would be able to effect the objects contemplated by the petition. In such a House of Commons the people would have perfect confidence: all men would submit to its decisions without grumbling and without cavil. Great arrangements are to take place, and must take place: An adjustment of hundreds, nay, thousands of millions, can never be effected without the hearty concurrence of the people at large; and that hearty concurrence never can be had unless the House of Commons be chosen by the people themselves. With such a House of Commons nothing would be more easy than a perfectly equitable and peaceable adjustment: this terrible load would be shaken from the shoulders of your suffering people: the saucy, insolent drones would no longer devour the fruit of the labour of the bees. The prayer of the prophet would be realized, happiness would reign throughout the land, crime would be reduced to its ancient standard of quantity, the idle would be punished with hunger, the industrious rewarded with plenty, public virtue would have its reward, and your Majesty's throne would be established in righteousness.

And, as I took the liberty to ask you, in one of my Letters from Long Island, why, *why* cannot this be done, and that, too, immediately. Mr. CANNING has, it seems, a "*budget*" to bring forward. That vulgar word, applied

to so important a concern, is truly characteristic of the whole system. He has a budget to bring forward. Instead of a budget, if he were to bring a message from your Majesty, recommending to the House to make a reform of itself, seeing that in its unreformed state, it appeared to be unequal to the task of rescuing the country from its dangers. If he were to do this, and bring forward his budget afterwards, the nation would have a much higher opinion of his judgment than it now has. It has been a favourite assertion of his, that, be the House constituted as it may, it is a House that "*works well.*" He will not, perhaps, find it to work so well, in future, as he has found it work in past times. If he get before this House as a Prime Minister, and there really appears to be an *if* in the case, he will not find it work quite so smoothly as it used to do. For his own sake, therefore, he ought to endeavour to change it. However, this is too much to expect: he must still contend for Gaton and Old Sarum; for, were he to do otherwise, he would be abandoned, even by the Whigs.

After all, then, there is no ground to hope for a just and peaceable result, except your Majesty be the chief mover; and, I will now, in very plain language, tell your Majesty how I would act, the advice which I would give, if I were in your Ministry, and, being resolved to give that advice, really giving it, and standing by it, I should not be afraid of all the boroughmongers, both the factions, every thing that could be mustered up against me, I would answer for success with my life, and I should have the inexpressible

pleasure of seeing your Majesty the most justly popular sovereign that ever reigned upon the face of the earth. My first step would be, humbly but most urgently, to press upon your Majesty the necessity of issuing your Royal Proclamation, fully and frankly stating to your subjects, the situation of the nation's affairs; describing the several evils that oppress them, and tracing those evils to their immediate causes; then tracing them to their more distant causes and stating the great cause of all to be a want of sufficient sympathy and community of feeling between those who make the laws and those who pay the taxes; calling upon them for mutual forbearance towards each other in their pecuniary affairs; calling upon the rich to be kind and benevolent towards the poor; enjoining most strictly on magistrates to see the laws well and duly enforced, for preserving the lives and health of the people of the poorer sort; promising to all, every thing in your power for their relief and for their speedy restoration to happiness, concluding with telling them that you would immediately suggest to your Parliament to make such a change in the representation as would be likely to repair the injuries inflicted upon the country.

The next step would be to advise your Majesty to send a message to both Houses of Parliament, recommending them to pass laws for making a constitutional reform of the Commons' House; observing to them that you had examined into the source of the evils which now afflict your people; telling them that history informed you that, of all the people in the

world, the English people had been, for numerous ages, the happiest, the best fed, the best clad, the freest, the most virtuous; that a long list of melancholy but undeniable facts now convinces you that they are, with the sole exception of your still more miserable subjects in Ireland, the most unhappy, the worst fed and worst clad people upon the face of the earth. Telling them that you had diligently inquired into the several causes which had produced this disgraceful, this deplorable change; that, when you looked round the kingdom and saw, every where, new gaols, new modes of punishing criminals: that when you saw that a greater quantity of food was allowed to the convicted felon than to the honest labouring man, you could not but inquire into the causes of all this misery and degradation; that, after long and diligent inquiry, you had traced this mass of evil, this fearful change, this change which seemed to have destroyed every thing of England but its bare name; that, in every instance, you had traced back the original cause to *some act or other of the Parliament*. That, to confine yourself to recent instances, the miseries of the year 1822, the agricultural distress of that year; the panic of 1825; that these, you found, came immediately as the effects of two acts of Parliament; that, therefore, it could not be doubted that there must be something wrong in the manner of electing those who imposed the taxes; that this had been told you by your people a thousand times over; that Earl GREY, then Mr. GREY, presented a petition to the House of Commons in 1793, in which the peti-

tioners declared that they were ready to prove at the bar of the House that a decided *majority of the House were returned by only one hundred and fifty-four persons*; that you find, upon inquiry, that the petition was received, that it now lies upon the table of the House, and that it has never, from that day to this, been taken into consideration; and that, therefore, you recommended to the House of Commons to *take that petition into their consideration, without loss of time*.

There is no man in his senses who must not be well assured that, if your Majesty were to take these steps, an effectual reform of the House of Commons would be the certain and speedy consequence. With such a House of Commons, and with the hearty concurrence of your Majesty, every thing would be speedily done which your dignity and our happiness demanded. This load would be taken from our shoulders, the uncertainty as to the value of property would cease; your corn, like that of your ancestors, would be the only money known to your people; wealth, wherever it existed, would be solid; men would seek to live by industry and not by trick; no fortunes of half a million would be made by watching the turn of the market; the cursed Jews must flee the land, or would be flung into the sea, and England would be once more a really Christian, a free and happy country.

There are people, so wrapped up in this Jewish system as to believe it not to be possible for us to live without it. The monster has worked in such a way as to debilitate men's minds, as to make them think corruptly from their very in-

fancy; but, Sir, every thing portends a great change. If not gentle, it must be violent; and gentle it cannot be unless you be graciously pleased to take the lead in the effecting of it. In such a state of things, a leader is always wanted; a leader in effecting the change. If the leader be an inferior person, he is very likely to be crushed: if a man of high rank, he creates envy and division; but, if the King take the lead, nine hundred and ninety-nine thousandths of the people are with him; and for this very good reason: that, if rightly advised, if he act wisely, he must do that which is for the good of the main body of his people; because, without them he is nothing, any more than a common man. This is, indeed, the great advantage of hereditary, kingly government: the King, and all his family, and all that are to come after him, have no fortune, no possession, not bound up with the fortunes and possessions of the people. Common sense, therefore, instinct, almost, leads the people to think that the King must mean for the best. In the present supposed case, there would not be a soul to gainsay; the discontented would be so few in number and so insignificant, that they would neither be seen nor heard of: the whole would be set to rights without a single breach of the peace proceeding from the change. No rank, no class, no description of persons would be called upon for any sacrifices but such as would be barely necessary; and, for my part, I can see no reason why every thing might not be adjusted and the nation starting in a new career of prosperity and happiness in the course of six months from this very day.

I do not like to describe the opposite picture: that of a reform brought on by dire necessity and originating in another quarter very different from that of the King. If this paper-money system be suffered to work on, till it can work on no longer; if it produce, at last, a menacing attitude on the part of the people; if it plunge things into confusion; if something very nearly resembling a dissolution of society take place and if reform then come as a last resort, how different will be the situation of us all, and; especially, how different the situation of your Majesty! It signifies not what may have been the secret wishes of your Majesty; it signifies not that you may have been friendly to reform in your heart all the while. It signifies not what gratitude your people may owe you for the desires which you may have entertained in their favour: the fact will not be notorious; your conduct will not have been open and your acts visible; you will not have been the leader in the great work; and, to say nothing about dangers; to say nothing about losses from such a cause, why not act now, and secure the gain!

I beg your Majesty to be assured, that nothing which man can do can preserve this paper system for any great length of time, in any form or in any degree; that it must come to an end, and that its progress towards that end must be marked by shock after shock, ruin after ruin, great misery here to-day and great misery there to-morrow, with a steady and constant general increase of poverty, degradation, and crime. There is no way that man has it in his power to proceed which can pre-

vent this, if the paper-system be suffered to proceed to its natural termination. It never can end in that way, without producing a reform of the Parliament, or something of a nature which every good man would wish to see avoided. To the great, to the monopolizers of power, to the seat-sellers, the very smallest evil that can happen, in such a case, is, a radical reform of the Parliament. For them, therefore, it would be better to consent to such reform now. To every body else, and particularly, to your Majesty and your family, beyond all measure, would it be better. However, I simply say what I would do. Mr. CANNING, the Whigs (as they are called), the seven sages or whoever else may have the power, must do what they please. Difficulty upon difficulty will they have to encounter. They will merit the compassion of nobody, and more especially of

Your Majesty's
Most faithful and obedient
Subject and Servant,
W^M. COBBETT.

THE NEW MINISTRY.

If one were to believe the rumours which are afloat, one ought not to think it wonderful if CANNING were to cut and run, even before Tuesday next. I saw him riding in the park this morning, at about ten o'clock, looking pretty well; boots rather large, cantering, pretty stoutly, upon an easy pad, looking devilish hard towards

the statue of Achilles and the triumphal arches; not melancholy in his countenance, but having in it more of the gravity of a Premier than the smirk of a Jester. However, I did not stop to look at the Premier, for I must confess I was afraid lest he should see me, and, if he had, he certainly would have been for pressing me into the service. If it be true, as the newspapers tell us, that he has been negotiating with Lord Lansdown *through Abercrombie*, and that he has been sending down to Bow Wood the same ambassador that he sent to St. Petersburg; if it be also true, as the newspapers tell us it is, that Lord Lansdown came to town, and rejected the propositions that had been made to him; then the affairs of the Premier are in a ticklish state indeed. The gossiping world, especially the admirers of the Cornelius Agrippa's men, are quite astonished at what they hear respecting Mr. BROUGHAM, who, it is said, has "*lent his powerful aid*" in the forming of Mr. CANNING's Ministry; but who, for a reason which he will state hereafter, *is to take no place himself!* The reader will remember, that when the Vicar of Wakefield's wife asked Colonel Thornhill to make a declaration relative to marrying her daughter Olivia, the Colonel said that he had *his reasons* for not doing it. "Oh," said the good lady, "if you have *your reasons*, that is another thing;" and so the Colonel took the girl off without marrying her. Now, is it not the King, and not Mr. Brougham, who has had "*his reasons*" upon this occasion? This is a pretty humbug story. Just as if any

Scotchman, and particularly a Scotch lawyer, ever refused to receive public money in any shape or any size. For my own part, I regret that there are reasons to shut out Mr. BROUGHAM. He and CANNING together would have actually talked the House to death; and then there would have been such a haggis of wild schemes, such a trickery with the paper-money, such projects for cramming the skull and leaving the belly empty as would have given us a twelvemonth's laughter, at any rate. It was clear to me, from the beginning, that if Mr. CANNING was to be Prime Minister, he must rest upon the Whigs. He appears to have endeavoured to do without them: they perceived this, and, now, it is likely that they will have nothing to do with him, unless they be allowed to be his master. His endeavours to get the Duke of DEVONSHIRE with him, and to conciliate TIERNEY, BROUGHAM, and all the talkers on that side; the compliments that they have been bandying backward and forward, all prove that he has meditated this stroke of policy for a long time. He knew the state of Liverpool better than any body else, except those who were in the house with him. He appears to have thought that an outward display of the friendship of the Whigs for him would *intimidate his colleagues*. He appears to have thought that his colleagues, perceiving that the Whigs would be for him, would be afraid to oppose him, lest he should call in the Whigs and shut them out for ever. This really does appear to have been his view of the matter; but he does not seem to have contemplated the consequence of

resistance on the part of his colleagues, which must inevitably drive him for protection to the rump of the Whigs. His colleagues knew very well, that the sensible part of the Whigs could not be so very eager for place in this state of things; and they were pretty certain that he could not resort to the Whigs, except with an offer of the premiership to them. So that, either he would be reduced to the necessity of being an underling to the Whigs, of returning to be an underling to his former colleagues, or to cut and run altogether. There have been some ugly hints thrown out about his *having no desire to be Premier!* Strange story this; but, it seems to indicate that he begins to feel that he must either decamp, or be something less than the master. He has vacated his seat; but he has not, yet, appeared in the Gazette, which is a very strange thing, seeing that he ought to have appeared there first of all. So that, if he should, finally, be compelled to desist and to yield the Premiership to somebody else, it will not have to be said that he was turned out of it. In short, his affairs are in a very ticklish state; and, I cannot say that I can possibly think of wetting a handkerchief upon the subject, when I recollect that, in 1809, he called us reformers "*a low degraded crew*," and, when proof was offered at the bar, of the selling of seats in the House, he called upon the House not to hear the proof, and thereby to "*make a stand against democratical encroachment*." Let Mr. CANNING, in the difficulties in which he finds himself, reflect a little on his long career of cruel, insulting, and licentious abuse of

the people; and let him read, in those difficulties, the consequences, or some of the consequences, of such a career: consequences as natural and as just, in such a case, as crippled toes and numbed joints are of the swallowing of gin, grogs, and whiskey.

The appointment of the Duke of CLARENCE has given universal satisfaction. It has cheered the hearts of all the Englishmen in the Navy; and it has given me hopes that our Navy will be fit to cope with that of America, whenever a war shall break out. I know nothing of the Duke personally, of course; but I have always heard that he was a blunt, open, fair-dealing man; and, it is reasonable to suppose that he will have great zeal and great impartiality in the conducting of the affairs of his office. Except as to this point, I care not one straw about Mr. CANNING or his Ministry; but, if this appointment depends upon the stability of Canning's Ministry, I hope it will stand; for, this Navy is a capital consideration, and, when the day of fighting comes, we shall have to feel the effects of what is done at that Admiralty in time of peace. MELVILLE, I am told, adopted, when he came to the Admiralty, a regulation to keep him from the sight, from the approach, of *every thing under the rank of Captain*; that is to say, that he laid it down as a rule that he would see no Lieutenant or Midshipman and, of course, no person of inferior rank or station. My God! And this regulation by a Scotchman, placed at the head of that glorious service, which gained all its glory under Englishmen exclusively! I do hope that the Duke of Cla-

rence will keep his station. I hope it was the King's own appointment; and I would rather that almost any thing should happen than that that appointment should be overset. Yet, I fear it will be if our Cornelius Agrippa's man should be driven from the field; and this I think very likely to happen.—The worst sign for Mr. CANNING is the retirement of WALLIE WALLACE, that old veteran placeman, from the mastership of the Mint, with an income of 3,000*l.* a year. One almost hears him coming down the stairs from the Mint, cry aloud, "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled!" His going out seems to be a certain sign that the whole will come back again. There are others, too, who never would have quitted, unless torn out by flesh-hooks, if they had not been pretty sure to come back again. If CANNING was deep, and laid his plans long before-hand, the others seem to have been aware of his plans, and to have been perfectly ready to meet him. Take the thing altogether, it is, perhaps, as fine an intrigue, or rather, nest of intrigues, as ever was seen in the world. We have long been in a state of gradual mental improvement; our refinement has been excessive for a long time; this intrigue seems to be the climax. It is one end of it, at any rate, and now, something else must come.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

I am certain that there will be no safety for the country, that it cannot recover itself in any de-

K

gress, without a reform of the House of Commons; that it must go on to be worse and worse off, and that it will finally become the lowest and most degraded country in the whole world, unless such reform be adopted. The young men of the present day have heard of the memorable petition of Mr. GRAY and other gentlemen in 1793. They have heard of it, but very few of them have read it. They have heard every body calumniate who have talked of reform of any sort. To petition for reform has been deemed a crime. We have now come to the crisis: we must have that reform, or we must have something a great deal more dangerous to those who have been its most bitter enemies. Mr. FIZANET, the present Duke of BEDFORD, Lord JOHN TOWNSEND, and several other persons now alive, signed the petition of Lord GRAY. I have said that I would recommend it to the King to suggest to the Parliament to have this petition taken into consideration. I have said that such a message from the King would produce a reform. I will here, therefore, insert this petition, long as it is; and, if the Whigs go into office without bringing forward a reform of Parliament as a Cabinet measure, they will not, indeed, deceive me, but they will undeceive the small remnant of their supporters throughout the country.

Authentic Copy of a Petition praying for a Reform in Parliament, presented to the House of Commons by CHARLES GERT, Esq. on Monday, 6th May, 1793; and signed only by the Members of the Society

of the Friends of the People, associated for the Purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled.

Sheweth:

THAT by the form and spirit of the British constitution, the king is vested with the sole executive power.

That the house of lords consists of lords spiritual and temporal, deriving their titles and consequence either from the crown, or from hereditary privileges.

That these two powers, if they acted without control, would form either a despotic monarchy, or a dangerous oligarchy.

That the wisdom of our ancestors hath contrived, that these authorities may be rendered not only harmless, but beneficial, and be exercised for the security and happiness of the people.

That this security and happiness are to be looked for in the introduction of a third estate, distinct from, and a check upon the other two branches of the legislature; created by, representing, and responsible to the people themselves.

That so much depending upon the preservation of this third estate, in such its constitutional purity and strength, your petitioners are reasonably jealous of whatever may appear to vitiate the one, or to impair the other.

That at the present day the house of commons does not fully and fairly represent the people of England, which, consistently with what your petitioners conceive to be the principles of the constitution, they consider as a grievance, and therefore, with all becoming respect, lay their complaints before your honourable house.

That though the terms in which your petitioners state their grievance may be looked upon as strong, yet your honourable house is requested

to believe that no expression is made use of for the purpose of offence.

Your petitioners in affirming that your honourable house is not an adequate representation of the people of England, do but state a fact, which, if the word "Representation" be accepted in its fair and obvious sense, they are ready to prove, and which they think detrimental to their interests, and contrary to the spirit of the constitution.

How far this inadequate representation is prejudicial to their interests, your petitioners apprehend they may be allowed to decide for themselves; but how far it is contrary to the spirit of the constitution, they refer to the consideration of your honourable house.

If your honourable house shall be pleased to determine that the people of England ought not to be fully represented, your petitioners pray that such your determination may be made known, to the end that the people may be apprized of their real situation; but if your honourable house shall conceive that the people are already fully represented, then your petitioners beg leave to call your attention to the following facts:

Your petitioners complain, that the number of representatives assigned to the different counties is grossly disproportioned to their comparative extent, population, and trade.

Your petitioners complain, that the elective franchise is so partially and unequally distributed, and is in so many instances committed to bodies of men of such very limited numbers, that the majority of your honourable house is elected by less than fifteen thousand electors, which, even if the male adults in the kingdom be estimated at so low a number as three millions, is not more than the two hundredth part of the people to be represented.

Your petitioners complain, that the right of voting is regulated by no uniform or rational principle.

Your petitioners complain, that

the exercise of the elective franchise is only renewed once in seven years.

Your petitioners thus distinctly state the subject matter of their complaints, that your honourable house may be convinced that they are acting from no spirit of general discontent, and that you may with the more ease be enabled to inquire into the facts, and to apply the remedy.

For the evidence in support of the first complaint, your petitioners refer to the return book of your honourable house.—Is it fitting, that Rutland and Yorkshire should bear an equal rank in the scale of county representation; or can it be right, that Cornwall alone should, by its extravagant proportion of Borough members, outnumber not only the representatives of Yorkshire and Rutland together, but of Middlesex added to them? Or, if a distinction be taken between the landed and the trading interests, must it not appear monstrous that Cornwall and Wiltshire should send more borough members to parliament, than Yorkshire, Lancashire, Warwickshire, Middlesex, Worcestershire, and Somersetshire united? and that the total representation of all Scotland should but exceed by one member, the number returned for a single county in England?

The second complaint of your petitioners is founded on the unequal proportions in which the elective franchise is distributed, and in support of it,

They affirm, that seventy of your honourable members are returned by thirty-five places, where the right of voting is vested in burgage and other tenures of a similar description, and in which it would be to trifle with the patience of your honourable house, to mention any number of voters whatever, the elections at the places alluded to being notoriously a mere matter of form. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

They affirm, that in addition to the seventy honourable members so chosen, ninety more of your honourable members are elected by forty-six places, in none of which the number of voters exceeds fifty. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

They affirm, that in addition to the hundred and sixty so elected, thirty-seven more of your honourable members are elected by nineteen places, in none of which the number of voters exceeds one hundred. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

They affirm, that in addition to the hundred and ninety-seven honourable members so chosen, fifty-two more are returned to serve in parliament, by twenty-six places, in none of which the number of voters exceeds two hundred. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

They affirm, that in addition to the two hundred and forty-nine so elected, twenty more are returned to serve in parliament for counties in Scotland, by less than one hundred electors each, and ten for counties in Scotland by less than two hundred and fifty each. And this your petitioners are ready to prove, even admitting the validity of fictitious votes.

They affirm, that in addition to the two hundred and seventy-nine so elected, thirteen districts of burghs in Scotland, not containing one hundred voters each, and two districts of burghs, not containing one hundred and twenty-five each, return fifteen more honourable members. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

And in this manner, according to the present state of the representation, two hundred and ninety-four of your honourable members are chosen, and, being a majority of the entire house of commons, are enabled to decide all questions in the name of the whole people of England and Scotland.

The third complaint of your petitioners is founded on the present complicated rights of voting. From the caprice with which they have been varied, and the obscurity in which they have become involved by time and contradictory decisions, they are become a source of infinite confusion, litigation, and expense.

Your petitioners need not tender any evidence of the inconveniences which arise from this defect in the representation, because the proof is to be found in your journals, and the minutes of the different committees who have been appointed under the 10th and 11th of the king. Your honourable house is but too well acquainted with the tedious, intricate, and expensive scenes of litigation which have been brought before you, in attempting to settle the legal import of those numerous distinctions which perplex and confound the present rights of voting. How many months of your valuable time have been wasted in listening to the wrangling of lawyers upon the various species of burgagehold, leasehold, and freehold! How many committees have been occupied in investigating the nature of scot and lot, pot wallers, commonalty, populacy, resiant inhabitants, and inhabitants at large! What labour and research have been employed in endeavouring to ascertain the legal claims of borough-men, aldermen, port men, select men, burgesses, and councilmen! And what confusion has arisen from the complicated operation of clashing charters, from freemen resident and non-resident, and from the different modes of obtaining the freedom of corporations: by birth, by servitude, by marriage, by redemption, by election, and by purchase! On all these points it is, however, needless for your petitioners to enlarge, when your honourable house recollects the following facts; namely, that since the twenty-second of December, 1790, no less than twenty-one committees have been employed in deciding upon liti-

gated rights of voting. Of these, eight were occupied with the disputes of three boroughs, and there are petitions from four places yet remaining before your honourable house, waiting for a final decision to inform the electors what their rights really are.

But the complaint of your petitioners on the subject of the want of an uniform, and equitable principle in regulating the right of voting, extends as well to the arbitrary manner in which some are excluded, as to the intricate qualifications by which others are admitted to the exercise of that privilege.

Religious opinions create an incapacity to vote. All Papists are excluded generally, and, by the operation of the test laws, Protestant dissenters are deprived of a voice in the election of representatives in about thirty boroughs, where the right of voting is confined to corporate officers alone; a deprivation the more unjustifiable, because, though considered as unworthy to vote, they are deemed capable of being elected, and may be the representatives of the very places for which they are disqualified from being the electors.

A man possessed of one thousand pounds per annum, or any other sum, arising from copyhold, leasehold for ninety-nine years, trade, property in the public funds, or even freehold in the city of London, and many other cities and towns having peculiar jurisdictions, is not thereby intitled to vote. Here again a strange distinction is taken between electing and representing; as a copyhold is a sufficient qualification to sit in your honourable house.

A man paying taxes to any amount, how great soever, for his domestic establishment, does not thereby obtain a right to vote, unless his residence be in some borough where that right is vested in the inhabitants. This exception operates in sixty places, of which twenty-eight do not contain three hundred voters each, and the number of house-

holders in England and Wales (exclusive of Scotland), who pay all taxes, is 714,911, and of householders who pay all taxes, but the house and window taxes, is 284,459, as appears by a return made to your honourable house in 1785; so that, even supposing the sixty places above-mentioned to contain, one with another, one thousand voters in each, there will remain 939,370 householders who have no voice in the representation, unless they have obtained it by accident or by purchase. Neither their contributions to the public burdens, their peaceable demeanor as good subjects, nor their general respectability and merits as useful citizens, afford them, as the law now stands, the smallest pretensions to participate in the choice of those, who, under the name of their representatives, may dispose of their fortunes and liberties.

In Scotland, the grievance arising from the nature of the rights of voting, has a different and still more intolerable operation. In that great and populous division of the kingdom, not only the great mass of the householders, but of the landholders also, are excluded from all participation in the choice of representatives. By the remains of the feudal system in the counties, the vote is severed from the land, and attached to what is called the superiority. In other words, it is taken from the substance, and transferred to the shadow, because, though each of these superiorities, must, with very few exceptions, arise from lands of the present annual value of four hundred pounds sterling, yet it is not necessary, that the lands should do more than give a name to the superiority, the possessor of which may retain the right of voting notwithstanding he be divested of the property. And, on the other hand, great landholders have the means afforded them by the same system, of adding to their influence, without expense to themselves, by communicating to their

confidential friends the privilege of electing members to serve in parliament. The process by which this operation is performed is simple. He who wishes to increase the number of his dependent votes, surrenders his charter to the crown, and, parceling out his estate into as many lots of four hundred pounds per annum, as may be convenient, conveys them to such as he can confide in. To these, new charters are, upon application, granted by the crown, so as to erect each of them into a superiority, which privilege once obtained, the land itself is reconveyed to the original grantor; and thus the representatives of the landed interest in Scotland may be chosen by those who have no real or beneficial interest in the land.

Such is the situation in which the counties of Scotland are placed. With respect to the burghs, every thing that bears even the semblance of popular choice, has long been done away. The election of members to serve in parliament is vested in the magistrates and town councils, who, having by various innovations, constituted themselves into self-elected bodies, instead of officers freely chosen by the inhabitants at large, have deprived the people of all participation in that privilege, the free exercise of which affords the only security they can possess for the protection of their liberties and property.

The fourth and last complaint of your petitioners is the length of the duration of parliament. Your honourable house knows, that by the ancient laws and statutes of this kingdom frequent parliaments ought to be held; and that the sixth of William and Mary, c. 2. (since repealed) speaking while the spirit of the revolution was yet warm, declared, that "frequent and new parliaments tend very much to the happy union and good agreement between king and people;" and enacted, that no parliament should last longer than three years. Your

petitioners, without presuming to add to such an authority by any observations of their own, humbly pray that parliaments may not be continued for seven years.

Your petitioners have thus laid before you the specific grounds of complaint, from which they conceive every evil in the representation to spring, and on which they think every abuse and inconvenience is founded.

What those abuses are, and how great that inconvenience is, it becomes your petitioners to state, as the best means of justifying their present application to your honourable house.

Your petitioners then affirm, that from the combined operation of the defects they have pointed out, arise those scenes of confusion, litigation, and expense, which so disgrace the name, and that extensive system of private patronage which is so repugnant to the spirit of free representation.

Your petitioners entreat of your honourable house to consider the manner in which elections are conducted, and to reflect upon the extreme inconvenience to which electors are exposed, and the intolerable expense to which candidates are subjected.

Your honourable house knows that tumults, disorders, outrages, and perjury, are too often the dreadful attendants on contested elections, as at this time carried on.

Your honourable house knows that polls are only taken in one fixed place for each county, city, and borough, whether the number of voters be ten or ten thousand, and whether they be resident or dispersed over England.

Your honourable house knows that polls, however few the electors, may, by law be continued for fifteen days, and even then be subjected to a scrutiny.

Your honourable house knows that the management and conduct of polls is committed to returning officers,

who, from the very nature of the proceedings, must be invested with extensive and discretionary power, and who, it appears by every volume of your journals, have but too often exercised those powers with the most gross partiality and the most scandalous corruption.

Of elections arranged with such little regard to the accommodation of the parties, acknowledged to require such a length of time to complete, and trusted to the superintendence of such suspicious agents, your petitioners might easily draw out a detail of the expense. But it is unnecessary. The fact is too notorious to require proof, that scarce an instance can be produced where a member has obtained a disputed seat in parliament at a less cost than from two to five thousand pounds; particular cases are not wanting where ten times these sums have been paid, but it is sufficient for your petitioners to affirm, and to be able to prove it if denied, that such is the expense of a contested return, that he who should become a candidate with even greater funds than the laws require him to swear to as his qualification to sit in your honourable house, must either relinquish his pretensions on the appearance of opposition, or so reduce his fortune in the contest, that he could not take his seat without perjury.

The revision of the original polls before the committees of your honourable house, upon appeals from the decisions of the returning officers, affords a fresh source of vexation and expense to all parties. Your honourable house knows, that the complicated rights of voting, and the shameful practices which disgrace election proceedings, have so loaded your table with petitions for judgment and redress, that one half of the usual duration of a parliament has scarcely been sufficient to settle who is entitled to sit for the other half; and it was not till within the last two months that your honourable house had an opportunity of

discovering, that the two gentlemen who sat and voted near three years as the representatives of the borough of Stockbridge, had procured themselves to be elected by the most scandalous bribery; and that the two gentlemen, who sat and voted during as long a period for the borough of Great Grimsby, had not been elected at all.

In truth, all the mischief of the present system of representation is ascertained by the difficulties which even the zeal and wisdom of your honourable house experiences in attending to the variety of complaints brought before you. Though your committee sit five hours every day from the time of their appointment, they generally are unable to come to a decision in less than a fortnight, and very frequently are detained from thirty to forty days. The Westminster case in 1789, will even furnish your honourable house with an instance, where, after deliberating forty-five days, a committee gravely resolved, that, "From an attentive consideration of the circumstances relating to the cause, a final decision of the business before them could not take place in the course of the session, and that not improbably the whole of the parliament" (having at that time near two years longer to sit) "might be consumed in a tedious and expensive litigation;" and they recommended it to the petitioners to withdraw their petition, which, after a fruitless perseverance of about three months, they were actually obliged to submit to.

Your petitioners will only upon this subject further add, that the expense to each of the parties, who have been either plaintiff or defendant in petitions tried before your honourable house in the present session, has, upon an average, amounted to above one hundred pounds per day; and that the attorneys' bills in one cause, the trial of which in point of form only lasted two days, and in point of fact only six hours, amounted to very near twelve hundred

pounds. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

Your petitioners must now beg leave to call the attention of your honourable house to the greatest evil produced by these defects in the representation of which they complain, namely, the extent of PRIVATE PARLIAMENTARY PATRONAGE; an abuse which obviously tends to exclude the great mass of the people from any substantial influence in the election of the house of commons, and which, in its progress, threatens to usurp the sovereignty of the country, to the equal danger of the king, of the lords, and of the commons.

The patronage of which your petitioners complain, is of two kinds: That which arises from the unequal distribution of the elective franchise, and the peculiar rights of voting by which certain places return members to serve in parliaments; and that which arises from the expense attending contested elections, and the consequent degree of power acquired by wealth.

By these two means, a weight of parliamentary influence has been obtained by certain individuals, forbidden by the spirit of the laws, and in its consequences most dangerous to the liberties of the people of Great Britain.

The operation of the *first* species of patronage is direct, and subject to positive proof. Eighty-four individuals do by their own immediate authority send one hundred and fifty-seven of your honourable members to parliament. And this your petitioners are ready, if the fact be disputed, to prove, and to name the members and the patrons.

The *second* species of patronage cannot be shown with equal accuracy, though it is felt with equal force.

Your petitioners are convinced, that in addition to the one hundred and fifty-seven honourable members above-mentioned, one hundred and fifty more, making in the whole

three hundred and seven, are returned to your honourable house, not by the collective voice of those whom they appear to represent, but by the recommendation of seventy powerful individuals, added to the eighty-four before-mentioned, and making the total number of patrons altogether only one hundred and fifty-four, who return a decided majority of your honourable house.

If your honourable house will accept as evidence the common report and general belief of the counties, cities, and boroughs, which return the members alluded to, your petitioners are ready to name them, and to prove the fact; or if the members in question can be made parties to the inquiry, your petitioners will name them, and be governed by the testimony which they themselves shall publicly give. But if neither of these proofs be thought consistent with the proceedings of your honourable house, then your petitioners can only assert their belief of the fact, which they hereby do in the most solemn manner, and on the most deliberate conviction.

Your petitioners entreat your honourable house to believe that, in complaining of this species influence, it is not their intention or desire to decry or to condemn that just and natural attachment which they, who are enabled by their fortune, and inclined by their disposition, to apply great means to honourable and benevolent ends, will always ensure to themselves. What your petitioners complain of is, that property, whether well or ill employed, has equal power; that the present system of representation gives to it a degree of weight which renders it independent of character; which enables it to excite fear as well as to procure respect, and which confines the choice of electors within the ranks of opulence, because, though it cannot make riches the sole object of their affection and confidence, it can and does throw obstacles, almost insurmountable, in the way of every man

who is not rich, and thereby secures to a select few the capability of becoming candidates themselves, or supporting the pretensions of others. Of this your petitioners complain loudly, because they conceive it to be highly unjust, that, while the language of the law requires from a candidate no greater estate, as a qualification, than a few hundred pounds per annum, the operation of the law should disqualify every man whose rental is not extended to thousands; and that, at the same time, that the legislature appears to give the electors a choice from amongst those who possess a moderate and independent competence, it should virtually compel them to choose from amongst those who themselves abound in wealth, or are supported by the wealth of others.

Your petitioners are the more alarmed at the progress of private patronage, because it is rapidly leading to consequences which menace the very existence of the constitution.

At the commencement of every session of parliament, your honourable house, acting up to the laudable jealousy of your predecessors, and speaking the pure, constitutional language of a British house of commons, resolve, as appears by your journals, "That no peer of this realm hath any right to give his vote in the election of any member to serve in parliament;" and also, "That it is a high infringement upon the liberties and privileges of the commons of Great Britain, for any lord of parliament, or any lord-lieutenant of any county, to concern themselves in the elections of members to serve for the commons in parliament."

Your petitioners inform your honourable house, and are ready to prove it at your bar, that they have the most reasonable grounds to suspect that no less than one hundred and fifty of your honourable members owe their elections entirely to the interference of peers; and

your petitioners are prepared to show by legal evidence, that forty peers, in defiance of your resolutions, have possessed themselves of so many burgage tenures, and obtained such an absolute and uncontrolled command in very many small boroughs in the kingdom, as to be enabled by their own positive authority to return eighty-one of your honourable members.

Your petitioners will, however, urge this grievance of the interference of peers in elections no farther, because they are satisfied that it is unnecessary. Numbers of your honourable members must individually have known the fact, but collectively your honourable house has undoubtedly been a stranger to it. It is now brought before you by those who tender evidence of the truth of what they assert, and they conceive it would be improper in them to ask that by petition, which must be looked for as the certain result of your own honourable attachment to your own liberties and privileges.

Your petitioners have thus laid before your honourable house, what the mischiefs are which arise from the present state of the representation, and what they conceive to be the grounds of those mischiefs, and therefore pray to have them removed.

They now humbly beg leave to offer their reasons, why they are anxious that some remedy should be immediately applied.

Your petitioners trust, they may be allowed to state, because they are ready to prove, that seats in your honourable house are sought for at a most extravagant and increasing rate of expense.

What can have so much augmented the ambition to sit in your honourable house, your petitioners do not presume accurately to have discovered, but the means taken by candidates to obtain, and by electors to bestow that honour, evidently appear to have been increasing in a progressive degree of fraud and cor-

ruption. Your petitioners are induced to make this assertion by the legislature having found it necessary, during the last and present reigns, so much to swell the statute book with laws for the prevention of those offences.

As far as conjecture can lead your petitioners, they must suppose, that the increasing national debt, and the consequent increase of influence, are the causes of the increased eagerness of individuals to become members of the house of commons, and of their indifference as to the means used to gratify their speculations. To prove that they do not state this wantonly, or without substantial grounds, they humbly beg to call your attention to the following table, all the vouchers for which are to be found in the journals of your honourable house, or in different acts of parliament.

It is upon this evidence of the increase of taxes, establishments, and influence, and the increase of laws found necessary to repel the increasing attacks upon the purity and freedom of elections, that your petitioners conceive it high time to inquire into the premises.

Your petitioners are confident that in what they have stated, they are supported by the evidence of facts, and they trust that, in conveying those facts to your honourable house, they have not been betrayed into the language of reproach or disrespect. Anxious to preserve in its purity a constitution they love and admire, they have thought it their duty to lay before you, not general speculations deduced from theoretical opinions, but positive truths, susceptible of direct proof, and if in the performance of this task, they have been obliged to call your attention to assertions which you have not been accustomed to hear, and which they lament they are compelled to make, they intreat the indulgence of your honourable house.

Your petitioners will only further trespass upon your time while they

recapitulate the objects of their prayer, which are,

That your honourable house will be pleased to take such measures, as to your wisdom may seem meet, to remove the evils arising from the unequal manner in which the different parts of the kingdom are admitted to participate in the representation.

To correct the partial distribution of the elective franchise, which commits the choice of representation to select bodies of men of such limited numbers as renders them an easy prey to the artful, or a ready purchase to the wealthy.

To regulate the right of voting upon an uniform and equitable principle,

And finally, to shorten the duration of parliaments, and by removing the causes of that confusion, litigation, and expense, with which they are at this day conducted, to render frequent and new elections, what our ancestors at the revolution asserted them to be, the means of a happy union and good agreement between the king and people.

And your petitioners shall ever pray.

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Biron—Anne Boleyn—Constable de
Bourbon—Madame Bourignon, &c.
&c. &c.

Printed for Hunt and Clarke, York
street.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN through-
out ENGLAND, for the week end-
ing April 13.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat ..	56	4	Rye	39	5
Barley ..	38	3	Beans . . .	47	2
Oats . . .	30	4	Pease . . .	47	4

Total Quantity of Corn returned as
Sold in the Maritime Districts, for
the week ended April 13.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	35,713	Rye	209
Barley ..	13,543	Beans . . .	1,597
Oats . . .	11,945	Pease . . .	366

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British
Corn, &c. sold and delivered in
this Market, during the week ended
Saturday, April 13.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat..	5,243	for 15,463	7	0	Average, 58	11	
Barley..	2,143	.. 4,353	10	9	.....	40	7
Oats..	1,653	.. 2,763	19	1	.....	33	5
Rye....	32	.. 58	17	0	.....	36	9
Beans..	545	.. 1,205	10	9	.....	44	2
Pease..	271	.. 617	0	7	.....	45	6

Friday, April 20.—The supplies of
Grain, during the present week, are
tolerably good. Wheat meets a slack
demand, at Monday's prices. Barley
and Pease also find a heavy trade.
Beans fully maintain the advance of
Monday last. Oats are not so free
in sale as on Monday last, and Feed
descriptions are rather lower. Flour
unaltered.

Monday, April 23.—The report of
arrivals for last week was tolerably
good, but the fresh samples of Grain
this morning form no material addi-
tion to the quantities left over from
last week, so that there is no great
show of samples of any kind of
Grain, except Foreign Oats, which
continue to come in plentifully. The
Wheat trade may be stated precisely
the same as on this day se'nnight,
with very little fine left unsold.

Barley has met more freedom in
sale to-day, but the prices cannot be
quoted any higher. Dry Beans are
more in demand, and 1s. per quarter
dearer. Pease remain as last quoted.
Oats find a fair trade, for good par-
cels, at the terms of last Monday,
but inferior sorts still meet a dull
sale. Tares are again considerably
cheaper.

Price of Bread.—The price of the
4lb. Loaf is stated at 9d. by the
full-priced Bakers.

COAL MARKET, April 20.

Ships at Market. Shipssold. Price.

42½ Newcastle 22½ .. 30s. 6d. to 37s. 6d.
15 Sunderland 7 .. 35s. 6d.—38s. 6d.

Account of Wheat, &c. arrived in the Port of London, from April 16 to April 21, both inclusive.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	4,640	Tares	1,720
Barley ..	1,681	Linseed ..	3,664
Malt	4,642	Rapeseed .	2,671
Oats	6,254	Brank ..	560
Beans	400	Mustard..	—
Flour	9,150	Flax	—
Rye	—	Hemp	115
Pease	757	Seeds ...	—

Foreign.—Wheat, 3,367; Barley, 4,163; Oats, 31,217; Beans, 1,656 qrs.; and Flour 12 barrels.

Monday, April 23.—The arrivals from Ireland last week were, 1077 firkins of Butter, and 3,513 bales of Bacon; and from Foreign Ports, 6,461 casks of Butter.

HOPS.

Price of Hops, per Cwt. in the Borough.

Monday, April 23.—We have had considerably more business doing since our last report, at an advance in price; and it is anticipated it will continue, as the reports from the plantations come very unfavourable. New duty called 120,000*l*.

Maidstone, April 19.—We have nothing doing this week of any consequence in the Hop Trade. The late unkindly weather has kept the bines rather backward, and there is flea in many of the grounds.

Worcester, April 18.—On Saturday 155 pockets of Hops were weighed; prices, 90*s*. to 96*s*.—The plants are reported to be springing very favourably.

SMITHFIELD.

Monday, April 23.—On Friday, both Beef and Mutton sold at rather higher prices than on the previous market day. This morning there is a brisk trade in the former article, and it fully commands Friday's terms, the best Scots readily obtaining 5*s*. 4*d*., and prime Lincolns 5*s*. The Mutton trade is not so lively as last week; the best polled light weights, in their wool, go no higher than 5*s*. 8*d*.; but choice Downs make our top currency.—Sheep of secondary quality are certainly lower. In Lamb there is no alteration.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	4	2	to	5 4
Mutton . . .	4	8	—	6 0
Veal	5	4	—	6 0
Pork	4	4	—	5 4
Lamb	6	4	—	7 0

Beasts . . .	2,039	Sheep . .	12,120
Calves . . .	134	Pigs . . .	140

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	8	to	4 8
Mutton . . .	4	0	—	5 6
Veal	3	8	—	5 8
Pork	4	0	—	6 0
Lamb	4	8	—	6 8

LEADENHALL, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead)

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	4	to	4 10
Mutton . . .	4	0	—	5 4
Veal	3	8	—	5 8
Pork	4	4	—	5 8
Lamb	5	4	—	7 4

POTATOES.

SPIITALFIELDS, per Ton.

Ox-Nobles.....	3	10	to	4	10
Middlings.....	2	0	—	0	0
Chats.....	2	15	—	0	0
Common Red.....	3	10	—	4	0
Onions, 0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.					

BOROUGH, per Ton.

Ox-Nobles.....	3	10	to	4	10
Middlings.....	2	0	—	2	10
Chats.....	1	15	—	0	0
Common Red.....	3	10	—	4	10

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay....	80s.	to	115s.
Straw....	40s.	to	45s.
Clover.....	100s.	to	140s.
St. James's.—Hay....	72s.	to	132s.
Straw....	40s.	to	48s.
Clover.....	132s.	to	140s.
Whitechapel.—Hay....	80s.	to	115s.
Straw....	38s.	to	42s.
Clover.....	90s.	to	135s.

AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN, sold in the Maritime Counties of England and Wales, for the Week ended April 13, 1827.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
London*	59	0	38	3	31	10
Essex	58	8	38	2	31	9
Kent	56	8	39	10	31	0
Sussex	54	11	41	6	29	6
Suffolk	55	5	37	2	31	9
Cambridgeshire	53	6	35	4	27	10
Norfolk	55	1	36	6	28	4
Lincolnshire	55	10	40	9	28	8
Yorkshire	55	5	41	10	29	0
Durham	56	1	42	4	35	6
Northumberland	53	9	37	6	32	4
Cumberland	61	8	39	8	35	5
Westmoreland	61	0	45	0	37	3
Lancashire	61	5	44	10	34	5
Cheshire	60	2	0	0	30	3
Gloucestershire	58	0	43	6	39	1
Somersetshire	54	10	39	10	29	2
Monmouthshire	59	4	47	9	0	0
Devonshire	55	10	38	2	27	1
Cornwall	59	8	38	9	36	11
Dorsetshire	54	4	39	3	34	6
Hampshire	56	4	39	8	30	0
North Wales	63	5	46	10	35	4
South Wales	57	9	43	5	26	1

* The London Average is always that of the Week preceding.

Liverpool, April 17.—The arrivals of Grain since Tuesday last have been more moderate, but the Corn Trade has been languid throughout the past week here, and in all our country markets,—in some degree owing to the fine seasonable weather we have for Seed-time;—for the few sales effected of Wheat and Indian Corn, the prices last quoted have been obtained, but all other kinds of Grain, Flour, and Meal, might have been bought at a trifling reduction. In Bonded Grain there has been nothing done, but of Flour in Bond, sales are daily making for export, at fully the prices quoted. At this day's market there was a very good demand for fine Meal and Oats, and sales to a fair extent were effected; for other descriptions, and for Wheat and every other article in the trade, sales were very limited,—and although, upon the whole, the prices of this day week were barely obtained, for any description of Grain, (excepting Indian Corn, which was fully 1s. per quarter higher,) we can make no decided alteration in the general prices last quoted. About 300 quarters of inferior Indian Corn, free, and about 200 quarters of Egyptian Beans, in bond, were offered by auction after the market, but withdrawn for want of bidders.

Imported into Liverpool, from April 9, to April 17, 1827, inclusive:—Wheat, 5,652; Barley, 514; Oats, 12,713; Rye, 74; Malt, 1,227; Beans, 909; Pease, 379 quarters. Flour, 3,097 sacks, per 280 lbs.; American Flour, 3,000 barrels; and Oatmeal, 616 packs, per 240 lbs.

Bristol, April 21.—The Corn markets here continue nearly the same as last week. The sales of good Oats are increased, and prices rather improved. Other kinds of Grain, &c. dull.—Wheat, from 6s. to 7s. 6d.; Barley, 4s. 3d. to 6s.; Beans, 6s. 3d. to 8s.; Oats, 3s. 1½d. to 4s. 1½d.; and Malt, 6s. to 8s. 3d. per bushel, Imperial. Flour, Seconds, 32s. to 43s. per bag.

Guildford, April 21.—Wheat, new, for meal, 15l. to 17l. per load. Barley, 39s. to 44s.; Oats, 32s. to 42s.; Beans, 54s. to 58s.; Pease, grey, 60s. to 64s.; ditto, boilers, 62s. to 64s. per quarter.

Horncastle, April 21.—Wheat and Oats about 1s. per qr. lower; Barley 2s. higher; in other descriptions of Grain little or no alteration.—Wheat, 52s. to 55s.; Barley, 40s. to 44s.; Oats, 28s. to 35s.; Beans, 60s. to 65s.; and Rye from 40s. to 42s. per quarter.

Ipswich, April 21.—We had to-day again a remarkably short supply of all Corn, and prices were much as last week, as follow:—Wheat, 52s. to 62s.; Barley, 36s. to 41s.; and Beans, 46s. to 48s. per quarter.

Manchester, April 21.—The Corn trade continues in the same dull state as the last two or three weeks. At our market to-day, which was but thinly attended, Wheat of the best quality barely maintains last week's rates; a few sales were made, at an abatement of 1d. per bushel, and for inferior there was no demand. Oats may be quoted 1½d. to 1d. per 45 lbs. lower. Beans being scarce, are advanced 1s. per quarter. The season for Boiling Pease being nearly over, what few remain are bought for provender. Malt is very dull, and to make sales to respectable houses, 1s. per load reduction has been submitted to. Flour continues very heavy in sale.

Newcastle-on-Tyne, April 21.—We had again a good supply of Wheat from the farmers this morning, but no arrivals coastwise during the week, and the millers being short of stock, the whole was readily sold at 2s. per quarter advance. Rye is 1s. per quarter dearer, and in demand. We have had no arrivals of Barley this week.

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Horncastle, April 21.—Beef, 9s. per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton, 8d.; Pork, 8d.; and Veal, 8d. to 10d. per lb.

Manchester Smithfield Market, April 18.—The supply of Beef and Mutton to this day's market was but small, but in general of good quality. The prices having advanced so much of late, of course causes a less consumption, and the butchers buy very sparingly. The supply of Calves is in general small, as our butchers get supplied by the dealers off market day. Pigs were in good supply, which readily found buyers, at last week's rates, and nearly the whole cleared off.—Beef, 4½d. to 8d.; Mutton, 7d. to 9½d.; Veal, 5d. to 6½d.; and Pork, 4½d. to 6d. per lb., sinking offal.

Norwich Castle Meadow, April 21.—The supply of fat Cattle to this day's market, was the largest we have had this year, and the prices nearly as last week, 7s. 6d. to 8s. 6d. per stone of 14 lbs., sinking offal; that of Store Stock was also very large; Scots sold at 4s. to 4s. 6d. per stone of what they will weigh when fat; Shorthorns, 3s. to 3s. 9d.; Cows and Calves, a more ready sale.—Meat: Beef, 7d. to 9d.; Veal, 6d. to 8d.; Mutton, 6d. to 8d.; Lamb, 9½d.; and Pork, 6d. to 8d. per lb.

At *Morpeth* Market, April 18, there was a great supply of Cattle; there being few buyers, they met with dull sale, at a reduction in price, and part were not sold. There was a short supply of Sheep, which sold readily at an advance in price. Beef, from 6s. 6d. to 7s. 6d.; Mutton, 9s. 6d. to 10s. 6d. per stone, sinking offal.



"Gentlemen, that Mr. CANNING (I mention him as the CHAMPION of the party, a par for the whole) should defend, to the utmost, a system, by the HOCUS-POCUS TRICKS of which *he and his family* get so much public money, can cause neither in me nor any man suspicion or anger;

"For 'tis their duty, all the learned think,
"T' espouse the cause by which *they eat and drink.*"

"The ox knoweth his owner and the ass his MASTER'S CRIB; and these gentry, at least, equal the ox and the ass in knowledge and virtue; and are, moreover, superior to the Jews; for they do know their *Maker*." I will, however, boldly adduce their example as proof undeniable of the benefits the people would derive from *appointing their own Representatives*; seeing that these gentlemen are *ever true to their and their patrons' interests*. This identity of interest keeps all smooth, and the people may rest assured, that the same cause will ever produce the same effect; and that, whenever the people shall have the *appointment of their own House of Commons*, the public expenditure will be controlled, the public burdens diminished; the public money applied to public purposes, and the public happiness and prosperity, in other words, *liberty and property*, secured, and NOT TILL THEN.—SIR FRANCIS BURDETT'S LETTER TO THE REFORM-MEETING AT THE CROWN AND ANCHOR, 4TH APRIL, 1821.

"THE CRIB." TO THE REFORMERS.

Kensington; 3d May, 1827.

MY FRIENDS.

WHEN you have read the above motto, and are then told, that on Tuesday night last, BURDETT sat

perched side by side with TIERNEY, close at the back of CANNING, ON THE TREASURY BENCHES, you will with difficulty be persuaded to believe,

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that the two *backers* have not, at last, the CRIB fully in their eye! More of this, however, when I have spoken of what the newspapers tell us took place in the House of Commons on Tuesday last, the 1st of May, and in the House of Lords, on Wednesday, the 2nd of May, on which two days the Houses appear to have been wholly engaged in hearing explanations of the motives of the *ins* and of the *outs*. The retiring Ministers chose to assume that they had been accused of conspiring and caballing against the exercise of the King's prerogative, and on that assumption they grounded the necessity of coming forward to clear themselves from the charge, though nobody cared one straw about the matter. Every one of them, in both houses, alleged that they quitted the Ministry because it had at the head of it a man notoriously an advocate for that which has been so long, so deceptively and yet so ludicrously called *Catholic emancipation*, that old subject of amusement to the vulgar, that grand store of powder to throw in the eyes of fools, that "*annual farce*," as Sir FRANCIS BURDETT called it about ten or twelve years ago, and to the acting of which, as he alleged, no honest man would give his

countenance by being present at the exhibition, *whereupon he walked out of the house!*

It is, perhaps, the greatest error, not to call it the most flagrant cheat, that ever was practised upon mankind, to suppose, or, to affect to suppose, that the putting of silk gowns upon the backs of a couple of score of lawyers; that the hoisting of three or four lawyers up upon the bench; that the putting of thirty or forty Catholic aristocrats or relatives of Borough-mongers into Parliament; that the giving the Catholic aristocracy a chance of getting their noses occasionally into the King's council, privy or cabinet; that the putting of a dozen or fifteen Catholic peers into the House of Lords to enjoy their right of legislation, and which they did enjoy, and in both Houses of Parliament, too, until the foul combinations of the fanatics, combined with the Church clergy, shut them out of those seats in the reign of CHARLES II.: it being curious, indeed, to observe, that the Protestant Reformation was made; was begun, continued and completed through the reigns of good Queen BESS, the famous racking and military-law lady; and through that of JAMES I. and CHARLES I. without any one ever appearing to

have thought of any thing so damnably unjust and odious as that of taking from these peers and gentlemen the possibility of sitting in the two Houses of Parliament, and that, too, merely because they and their fathers had never been apostates: however, the above are the things, which "*Catholic emancipation*" would effect, and nothing more; and, again I say, that there never was an error, not to call it a piece of cheater, so gross as the hope that the accomplishment of that measure (*if accompanied with no other measures*) would produce, not *relief*, not deliverance from misery, not restoration to happiness and freedom, but, the smallest portion of good, that it would add one single miserable potatoe, one single mouthful of hog-meat, and bad hog-meat, or one single rag two inches square to the food or the dress of the average of the great body of Roman Catholic subjects of the King. What a farce, then, what monstrous insincerity, or what more than monstrous folly, to pretend, as Mr. Canning's adherents pretend, that this measure is necessary to the *tranquillity of Ireland*, and to the safety of the "*British empire*," as the foppish style of the day calls this ancient and once

happy kingdom! Yet, the old story; all this intriguing, all this squabbling and quarrelling; all this contest for power and emolument, all these coalitions, these splittings-up, these re-meltings and new castings, are, as it were, by common consent of all the parties, made to turn solely upon this question of emancipation; and, if one may judge from present appearances, on that question the opponents of the lucky Minister mean to found their first grand attack upon him. In the House of Commons, Mr. PEELE has rested his secession solely upon this ground. In the House of Lords, four of the seceders have done the same, while Lord MELVILLE tells us that he was *for Catholic Emancipation*, but that he would not sit in the Cabinet, unless the others, *who were against it*, continued to sit there also. He was very explicit in stating this; and, if, after this, any man can have a doubt as to the real motives of the parties, the head of that man must be of a very peculiar construction.

I may stop here to observe that, from the bottom of my heart I do think that, let Lord MELVILLE's motive be what it might, the act which it produced is likely to be of the greatest possible benefit to the country; because I cannot

help being convinced that the Duke of Clarence being at the head of the navy, being the source of promotion and of honour in that branch of service, on which the safety, the greatness, the glory of the country must, finally, depend in a great degree; I am firmly convinced, that his Royal Highness, being in this post, having no partialities to gratify, having, not even by possibility, any interest disconnected with that of us all, must be of the greatest importance, and may, perhaps, be the cause of our being finally defended against those growing powers, which are now silently towering up, each and every of them having, as its ultimate view, the pulling down of the maritime power of England. It is not likely, let the fate of Mr. CANNING be what it may, that *this appointment* will be upset. Here is the heir presumptive to the throne; here is a man that nobody will be disposed to displease. I look upon this appointment as permanent, as long as the Duke and his Majesty shall live; and, of such great importance do I deem it, that, were the permanence of the appointment to depend on the permanence of Mr. CANNING's power, I could almost wish that power to be permanent too, and I do wish it most

sincerely, unless it be destroyed by a reformed Parliament. A reformed Parliament would not, if it were to assemble to-morrow, wish to displace the Duke of Clarence. No appointment could have been so proper; and, though this change; this conflict of factions; this general *remu-menage*, this breaking up of all combinations, this putting an end to all the packing, by which the people were both deceived and injured; though this unexpected, and, as it were, providential stir, which is exposing and will finally put in the full blaze of light, so many things hitherto closely hidden from the people; though I am satisfied that this breaking up, this throwing of all the elements of faction into confusion, will finally lead to events more important than any one seems to anticipate, I should hail it as the great blessing to the country, were it, in the end, to have been found to produce nothing but this appointment of the Duke of CLARENCE.

To return from this digression: the Catholic question is to be considered by sensible people as nothing more than a *mere plea*, first, for the secession on the part of the Ex-Ministers, and, next, for the coalition on the part of the stragglers from the Whigs, who have

gone over and placed themselves in the stern of the new Ministers, with the avowed object of giving their support to a man who deprecates even a discussion of this Catholic question, and who professes his resolution *not to make it a Cabinet measure*. Read the long, the laboured, the far-fetched, the strange compound of all that is unsatisfactory; read the speech of Mr. PÆL; then read the speeches in the Lords; and then common sense will tell you to believe that the Catholic question has, at bottom, nothing to do with the matter; that, as to Mr. PÆL, he wanted to be Minister himself, or, to secure the reversion of the office; and that, as to the other Ministers, they dislike Mr. CANNING on many accounts, which will clearly be seen to be the case, if we attend to the speech of Lord LONDONDERRY. He frankly, and I say, very sensibly, (though Doctor BLACK laughs at the idea,) stated solid objections, fair objections, and such as I, if I had been one of his order, and had not been desirous of seeing an end to the borough-system, should have stated for myself. The real state of the case is this: the owners of the land; the owners of the titles and the estates do not like Mr. CANNING; *they never liked*

him, and this has been visible upon scores of occasions. He is particularly disliked by *the whole body of the Church*, a body which smells danger where it is sensible to the olfactory nerves of nobody else. As far as he was the champion of that system, which has, at last, seen the country covered with crimes and with misery; as far as he was the champion of that system (as Burdett called him in his Letter to the Reformers, written six years ago), the possessors of borough power, and of all the good things flowing from that source, liked him very well, they cherished him, they applauded his alliterative jests; they patted him on the back; and, if he were detested by a considerable part of the people for his bold attacks upon them, and his vehement sallies against all their efforts to recover their rights, those who profitted from his efforts left him to the enjoyment of that detestation. But, the moment they discovered in him *designs to work up to the head*: the moment they perceived him assume the tone of "*liberality*," as the means of gaining support from the people or any portion of the people, that moment they began to suspect him; suspicion is, with them, quite enough; and, though they did not

and it prudent to break with him, they appear to have formed a firm determination never to suffer him to have any great store of power. He, by no means less cunning than they, perceived the workings of their minds, and, that man must have been a very inattentive observer of the conduct of men in power, not to have perceived, that he, on his part, lost no opportunity of making the people, and the trading part of the people, particularly, believe that he was desirous of following, as BURDETT calls it, "the march of mind;" as PEEL calls it, "the mental improvements of the age;" and, as BROUGHAM calls it, "the astonishing growth of intellect." All this must have been the devil to the staunch adherents of the old system. It was, in fact, by implication, though not in words, beginning to turn his back upon that Old Sarnum by which he had sworn to live and die. Then came all his projects about free-trade; about emancipation of the New World; about the right of people to choose their own governments. Meantime, his coquetry with the Whigs, his compliments on the Edinburgh Review; his publishing his pamphlet speech at Ridgway's; these would have marked out the staunch adherents of the borough-system for stark fools

if they had failed to perceive what was his ultimate object. Both the parties knew the opinion entertained by each other of each other. They knew his designs, and he their determination to thwart them. By what *short cut* he turned their flank at last; by what manœuvre; by the assistance of what *angel* or whatever else, it would be hard to say; but, turn their flank he did; he got in their rear, secured possession of his post, and they had nothing left for it, but to turn round, abandon their designs of opposing him, place themselves under him in his "march of mind"; and subject themselves to every measure which he might deem necessary to the security of his own power and to the chipping of theirs away, until he had reduced them to a state of perfect insignificance: there was no alternative now left them but to do this or to *bold*. They chose the latter; and there the parties are. They resolve apparently, to drive him from his post if they can, and he, not less firmly, resolved to hold that post. Catholic emancipation, as it is called, is the mere pretence, and, if they try him upon that, I think it very probable, that they may be beaten. Not beaten in their houses, perhaps, but, I think it very unlikely that they should

succeed in that which is their manifest design, namely, to raise a stupid, a senseless, a beastly cry of "NO POPERY" throughout the country.

Things are very much altered; men's minds have undergone a great change, with regard to this No-Popery affair, since the day that little PERCIVAL played his pranks and that the corrupt and stupid beasts of Liverpool pelted with stones and dirt the accomplished and virtuous Mr. ROSCOE. Men, the people of England, particularly, have now had time to consider that this cry, like the howlings of the worst of the rabble at the burning of GUY FAWKES, is a trick played off upon them, and of deluding them to their own manifest injury. Of late years the people have perceived what this Church of England really is; how much they pay for its maintenance; what immense sums it takes out of the pockets of tradesmen, farmers and labourers; they now know, that the tithes and the rest of the Church property, which were taken from a Catholic clergy and given to a Protestant clergy, **USED TO MAINTAIN ALL THE POOR**, before the property was so transferred. They can clearly see, now, or else they must be blinder than moles, that

there never would have been poor-rates nor the necessity of poor-rates, had it not been for the transfer of the Church property. It is, therefore, impossible to make them believe, that a change, that even a change back again to Popery would be ruinous to them. They are not, then, to be frightened in this way any longer. They now know well, that the cry of the *Church being in danger* means, that the *tithes* are in danger; that the Church property is looked upon as being in danger; that there is danger that by restoring the Roman Catholics to the enjoyment of their civil rights, the Parliament may be induced to bethink it of the necessity of going a little further and restoring the poor to their right of being maintained out of the property of the Church instead of being maintained out of the poor-rates. In a sort of rustic harangue which I made to a company of farmers and hop-planters at Andover, last fall, and which harangue I prefaced by the toast of "OLD ENGLAND", I explained to them the origin of that toast, or, rather, of that phrase. I observed, that the phrase seemed, upon the face of it, to have very little sense in it; but that, when its origin was known, it would appear to be very

expressive, very full of sense. We never heard people talk of or toast *Old America, Old Holland, Old France, Old Germany, Old Scotland, Old Italy, or Old any thing but Old England*; that the cause was this: after the Protestant Reformation had taken place; after the tithes and other Church property had been taken away from the poor, and had been given to Church of England parsons to be eaten and drunk by them and their wives and their children; after this had been done, and the Protestant Scotch King JAMES I. had come in and set his hungry northern vultures to tear to pieces, to mulct, to fine, to extort from, to tear away the very beds from under the remnant of the English Catholic gentlemen; these latter, not daring to give vent openly to their just indignation and hatred of the new order of things, used to give as a toast, "OLD England"; that is to say, England as *she formerly was*; the England of our forefathers; the happy England that knew nothing of poor-rates, and the duty and the practice of whose clergy it was to maintain the poor and comfort the widow, the orphan and the stranger; that England (continued I, as I was addressing myself principally to farmers and planters, from *Farn-*

ham, in Surrey), that England which saw WILLIAM OF WICKHAM in the palace of Farnham; and who had never seen a bishop that sold small beer out of that palace as the late bishop of Winchester did! Such an explanation could not take place without producing great effect upon the minds of the persons present. That effect showed itself by all those visible signs demonstrative of strong feelings awakened in the breasts of the audience. Now, all the intelligent part of the community are become acquainted with facts like this. They are not therefore to be duped by a hypocritical cry of "no Popery." If Mr. CANNING were to answer that cry (as I would to a certainty), by a proposition made from his seat in Parliament, to make the Church property liable to the maintenance of the poor, that fine young maiden statesman, Mr. PEEL, might, I take it, pack up his budget of mental improvements, and get off to Oxford and take commons with his tutor, Dr. COPPLESTONE, and, between them, they might hatch another cash-bill, or amuse themselves in any way that they liked, except that of bellowing about "no Popery," which might afford them a chance of getting broken heads. It was

the Catholic Church, or, if you will, it was "Popery;" it was real Popery that caused the poor to be fed out of the revenues of the Church, and it was Protestantism; it was this Church of England, that took away the Church property from the poor, and that laid all the burthen of poor-rates, all the burthen of church-rates, that made overseers and paupers. Therefore, if I were Mr. CANNING, I would answer the cry of "no Popery" with the cry of "no parsons that eat up the tithes from the poor." And I would not confine myself to a cry; it is not a hullohaloo that would satisfy me; I would bring in a bill to give the nation all the benefits of Popery; to restore the nation to the blessings of Popery; that is to say, to cause horrid pauperism to cease, and to compel the clergy to maintain the poor, and pay the Church rates out of the revenues of the Church, as the Popish Clergy did. I would teach my Lord BLEN the good of Popery; the certain advantage of it. He talks about civil and religious liberty, and particularly about "religious liberty"; and he tells us that we can have no liberty if we do not have that. What the devil, my good lord, do you mean to say that we have been made more free

by letting the parsons swallow up all the tithes and other revenues of the Church, instead of being permitted to keep only just enough to exist upon while they distributed all the rest among the poor? Strange sort of doctrine this must be. Aye, the Church is really in danger, my lord; for, never will it keep all those tithes and other revenues to be devoured by itself for another ten years. Mr CANNING must know, well, that the whole body of the Church of England clergy are his enemies. I think he is too cunning to believe that he will wheedle them round to his side. That he will never accomplish. The prudent course therefore is, to attack them; to be the assailing party, and openly, too: their tender place is their temporalities: iron bound like ACHILLES every where else, there they are as sensitive as the galled back of a horse. At their temporalities, therefore, say I; answer "no Popery" with that, my good Æolus, and you may dispense with the backings of BURDETT and BROUGHAM and all the shilly-shallies that are now looking on between hawk and buzzard to discover which will be most profitable,—to keep you in your seat or to help shove you out of it. You would have ninety-nine

hundreds of the people with you. The people would make the aristocrats pull their hats off as they pass by your door; you would put your enemies under your feet, and would be Minister for life if you chose it. And, now, a word in your ear: if if you do not do this, somebody else will. You will, in all probability, be ousted, by endeavouring to play the aristocrat against aristocrats; by pretending your attachment to the Church, and to the inviolability of its possessions. You will, at last, be beaten by your present enemies: they will be beaten, too, by some man who will propose the measures here suggested; a new race of Ministers will surround the King, and you and your present opponents will, supposing you to have great good luck, all sink into one common grave of oblivion, and will hardly be remembered, except the memory of you be kept alive by your being the subject of a jest.

So much for the "no Popery" part of the affair; and, now, my friends, Reformers, you cannot refrain, I think, from viewing with delight this strange, yet total and complete breaking up and confounding of all the factions. I have said, in the Register, four or five

times within the last seven years, that the system would be hastened towards its winding up by changes in the Ministry; that some men would become frightened, and would avail themselves of pretexts for quitting their posts; that new and more needy adventurers would come in; that these would resort to schemes of all sorts; that they would listen to every thing new, and would act off-hand at a dash; that men of different principles would get mixed up together; that thus there would be a constant vacillating and a constantly increasing weakness in the government. Now, look at the mixty-maxy mass that the thing presents at this moment: see the obstacles which the several parties themselves have created, each in the way of its own success. As to the Ministry, one does not know whether it be formed or not formed, even to this moment. No one seems to know whether those who are in the places are to stay in them or to go out to make room for somebody else. The Whigs, as they are called, have sent off a sort of detachment to join the Minister. It is really an affair of the knee-twigs. BROUGHAN and BURDETT and TYERNY have flown across, and settled down near the food, just as you see two

or three sparrows from a flock, or two or three rooks, or two or three magpies dispatched from the flock to reconnoitre; to ascertain by actual survey, whether there be likely to be safety in the concern. The main flock stay behind, remain perched upon their old branches. This is just the state of the thing at this moment. The Whigs have not joined the Minister: they are waiting to see whether it be safe to join. They have sent him a detachment of backers, in order to ascertain what strength he has. Mr. BROUGHAM appears to be very little more than the bearer of a flag of truce, coming over, under "safe conduct;" but he is ready to go back, of course; and BUNBURY's errand seems to be of much about the same sort.

The most powerful body is, unquestionably, that which is in opposition to Mr. CANNING; that is to say, his former invaluable colleagues. But, even they, if they were to muster the utmost of their force, are not what they were before. They might, perhaps, be able to muster a majority in Parliament; but this would not carry them through, if the Minister had the pluck to make even a trifling advance towards the people. His former colleagues would very soon find an immense ma-

jority of the people against them; they would meet with exasperations from every quarter and corner. He will find, if he take up the muster-roll, that the Lord Charleses form the most formidable body against him. Let him propose to take away their salaries and pensions; let him propose to pinch their purses; or, rather, to pull their hand out of the public purse; let him do this, and he is safe, for the present, at least. But, if he will assail nobody; if he think to triumph and to persevere in his eulogiums on Old Sarum, he will not die a Minister, unless his glass be very nearly run. Still, the old bitter Pittites will never be again what they have been for the last thirty years: their strength is divided; and, though Mr. CANNING may be unable to stand as a Prime Minister, he would, in an opposition to them, be, in this talking and printing age, a most formidable foe.

At any rate, my friends, good to the people must come out of this thing. It is impossible to see what this chopping and changing will finally produce; impossible to see, precisely, how the thing will work; but it must produce good to the people. Each faction, and each limb of a faction, carefully avoids all allusion to the

state of the country. All the ruin and misery and crime and dreadful starvation in some parts; all allusion to the cause or causes of these; but each faction have these things in their mind. They talk about nothing but Catholic emancipation; but, Mr. CANNING's ranks would have been full; he would have had crowds of supernumerary statesmen if it had not been for the serious, the alarming, the increasing distresses and misery of the country. I, for my part, am thoroughly convinced, that there must be, at no distant day, a general convulsion or a *peaceable reform*. Lord WESTMORELAND is reported to have asked whether a Minister was bound to continue to serve the King as a Minister; in case his Majesty were to place a *reformer* at the head of the Ministry. I answer, by no means; and, I verily believe, that his Lordship will not be called upon to serve under such a Minister; but I also verily believe, that there will be such a Minister, at no very distant day; and, I wish I could believe, that Sir FRANCIS BURDETT had now gone over to sit at the back of Mr. CANNING, in order to have an opportunity of suggesting to him the absolute necessity of becoming such Minister.

Why should not Mr. CANNING do this? Why should he not turn his back upon Old Sarum? Why should he be afraid of a charge of inconsistency, after the noble example just now set him by Westminster's pride and England's glory? Look at the motto to this paper, my friends. Read the article which will follow this; observe that the Baronet accused this Mr. Canning of extolling the system for the sake of the public money that he and his family got by the system: observe that the Baronet, writing to a meeting of reformers, told them that the nation never could have justice, until there should be a reform of the Parliament: observe, that he solemnly assured that meeting, that his abilities, be they what they might, should always be exerted for the destruction of this system, and for the producing of a constitutional reform. Then behold him actually placing himself, placing his corporeal substance at the back of him, close at his back, so as for his knees to touch his shoulders, professing his intention to give his support to that very man whom he had distinctly accused of supporting the system, merely for the sake of what he and his family got by it, out of the public money;

accusing him of being the champion of the system by which liberty and property were taken from the people, and charging him with being as full of knowledge and virtue as the ass, because with equal accuracy he knew the CRIB at which he fed; that is to say, the crib of the public provender. When I saw the Baronet seated there, what was I to expect short of a declaration, that the champion of the system had become the champion of reform? Not a word about the matter, from the Baronet, who has, all at once, become enamoured of that question of Catholic Emancipation, which, ten years ago, he called a despicable farce! And, he was not decided about this question either; for his words, as explained by Mr. BROUGHAM, meant that *he by no means wished that question to be agitated*. He did say, once, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, that he might, for ought he knew, be turned to an oyster, at last; and, really, it is for you to guess whether the shell be not now actually creeping over him. If this should be the case, and if the Minister, who is said to be a man of great taste, should be particularly fond of shell-fish, down goes "Purity of Election" at a single gulp!

In the mean while, the celebrated 28d of May is approaching, and that is the Baronet's and the Rump's anniversary dinner, to chaunt forth the praises of "Purity of Election." I do hope that we shall, then, have some explanation, relative to the pledges which the Baronet has, doubtless, obtained from Mr. CANNING, of his intention to favour the great cause of Parliamentary Reform. Some one will, to be sure, ask for such explanation, in spite of the howlings, the wands and the nails of the Rump. This daring humbug will, assuredly, not be played off now, without some inquiry into the motives of the Baronet in giving his support to this calumniator of reformers, this jester upon OGDEN, this champion of the "crib." If some one do not demand this explanation, if some one do not ask what can be the meaning of this change, Westminster is sunk for ever, and is baser than any rotten borough in the kingdom.

We hear nothing of Lord GREY in this affair. The press has not been able; has not dared to publish one single word, expressive of Lord Grey's approbation of Mr. Canning and his crew. I should suppose that his Lordship can have very little inclination to

embark on board a vessel so crazy. He may dislike, and he must dislike, the late Ministry; but, he must know that, unless we have some declarations relative to acting upon new principles, it is monstrous to pretend that the new set is better than the last; and, my opinion of Lord GREY must always have been very erroneous, if he would, for the sake of any emoluments, or any pitiful political triumph, undertake that which he did not look upon as being for the good of the country at large. Besides this, I gather from several of his speeches, that he understands the nature of the real dangers of the country. He must know that those dangers are not to be obviated without a reform of the Parliament; he must know that nothing short of that is capable of grappling with those dangers. He is almost the only public man, if not the only one, who has never been wrong upon the subject of the paper-money. PITT put him upon the committee, to report on the affairs of the Bank, at the time of the stoppage in 1797. He disdained all participation in the report; he stated that he disagreed with those who made it; he said that he washed his hands of it; and, even at that time he declared that

the evils which would result from the proceedings of that day, must, in the end, be terrible to the nation. When Peel's bill was passed, he found the cry in its favour so general, that he did not actually oppose it; but, he expressed his fears that the Marquis of LANSDOWN, who had stated that it could be carried into effect without inconvenience, would find himself disappointed in his calculations. Here we have these two men before us now; Mr. CANNING has the Marquis at his back; but, greatly deceived am I if he ever receive a word of support from Lord GREY. Why this nobleman do not come boldly forward and explicitly state all his views as to the situation of the country and the remedies necessary to be applied, it is not for me to say: I cannot even guess why he does not do it; but this I know, that, whatever he may think of the matter, he is able, at this moment, to render his country greater services than any other man and than all other men put together. He has every thing for him. Good character, stands high in the opinion of every body, as to his integrity; great talents, long experience; and a conviction in the mind of every man, that if he were to commit error it

would be from accident and never from intention. For my part, I can never account for such men remaining silent and inactive at such a time; and, as far as I have known any thing of mankind, I have never been able to discover that backwardness of this sort was ascribed to the best of motives.

However, every man must do as he likes. The thing has been put into a stir by this little incident of Lord Liverpool; and, I am satisfied, that it will work along in some shape or other, without ceasing to operate, until the end of the paper-system shall arrive. That system will have made great progress before this day twelvemonth, and when Mr. CANNING's remedies shall come to be agitated, if he should remain in office so long, he will find the Catholic question of no more importance than the question relative to the treatment of sheep and of jack-asses, so interesting to poor Mr. MARTIN, who is now, it appears, gone upon his travels, leaving the poor donkeys without a protector.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Oh! I had almost forgot, but, pray do not let us forget, that, among the other novelties which present themselves, and that not the least ominous, the PRESS: aye, that the "respectable press" has misbehaved at last. In both

Houses it is stated that *the press is in the pay of the Government!* It is now found out that "*the entire press is corrupted to its very core*"; and, certainly, I must say, in justice to the gentlemen, who, by the reports of their speeches, have found this matter out, that there is a very great coincidence in the sentiments of the "gentlemen of the press," on the present state of affairs: a coincidence not less striking, in its way, than that of the simultaneous secession of the seven sages without previous concert or communication. However, no matter about their purity, whether they be actually at the "crib" or by what herd-like faculty they may all agree together, no doubt we shall see them one and all for the "march of mind," the "improved state of society;" and, it would be hard, indeed, if the "best possible instructor" was not for the "astounding growth of intellect." In short, they are all fairly upon this scent, and, now the parties who have so long found them so convenient and manageable, must consider them as fairly let slip from the leash!

"ENGLAND'S GLORY"

AND

MR. CANNING.

TO

The Electors of Westminster.

Kensington, 26 June, 1821.

GENTLEMEN,

It was not my desire to trouble you with any remarks on "GLORY's" conduct. His ad-

ventures since the month of February last were quite sufficient to render all further notice of him wholly unnecessary; but, this recent affair between Mr. CANNING and him really does call so loudly for something, from some quarter or other, that I cannot remain silent. As a mere *duelling* affair, I should, probably, only have joined others in laughing at "*Glory's*" conduct in it; but, the correspondence, in this case, involves matter of political *principle* and *consistency* (that precious quality in "*Glory's*" eyes); and, therefore, the thing becomes matter of importance, more especially as he is a member for your populous city, and as he still occasionally talks about a *Reform* in the *Parliament*.

The short history of the quarrel between "*Glory*" and Mr. Canning is this:—The former being at the time passing his *three months* "in the *custody* of the Marshal of the King's Bench," wrote and sent to the Chairman of what was called "*a Reform Dinner*," on the 4th of April last, a letter to be read to the persons then and there assembled. In this letter he spoke *evil* of Mr. Canning, as you will presently see. The latter, who was then in England, took no notice of this letter at the time; and soon afterwards went to France. But, as soon as "*Glory's*" three months "*custody*" were expired, Mr. Canning came home, and wrote to "*Glory*," by the hands of Lord William Bentinck, demanding (and, as you will see, in a most peremptory style) "*a disavowal*, or, the "*other alternative*." The *disavowal* was made; and that,

too, in the most *prompt* manner. There was no want of *industry* on this occasion! There was no *shilly-shally*. Prompt enough, faith, in this affair.

Now, gentlemen, if this matter had been a mere *duelling* affair, if it had embraced nothing of politics, it would have passed wholly unnoticed by me. But, you will find, that the *disavowal* strikes at the very root of political justice; and that, if it be to pass uncensured, all that *responsibility* in public functionaries, for which we have always been contending, and for which "*Glory*" has always been contending, is completely swept away.

We will now take the documents, beginning with "*Glory's*" letter aforementioned. And, here, before I proceed further, let me observe, that I give no *nick-name*. This is the name, or title, given to him by his own band of creatures; his own RUMP; his own friends and partizans. Does he merit it? Is he the "*Glory of England*?" Then it is a title *due* to him; and it can be no *nick-name*, no mockery. Is he unworthy of it? Does the application of it to him excite laughter? Then let him no longer surround himself with the band of base flatterers, who have bestowed it on him; and who, by the various arts, of which I shall by and by speak, extort from you that support of him, which your own good sense and honesty, if left to themselves, would never suffer you to give. Gentlemen, we hear enough of flattering *courtiers*; we despise the parasites of *kings*; we think ourselves fully warranted, in this

case, to express our contempt of the receiver as well as of the utterer of the flattery; we are moreover, in the habit of commending blunt sincerity, and I hope, this commendation is not unjustly given to us as a nation. But, Gentlemen, Electors of Westminster, was ever flattery so fulsome; was ever flattery so nauseous; did ever subject of the Grand Monarque of France or slave of Turkish Sultan, utter flattery so base and disgusting as that which has been poured on this man by those creatures who have the audacity to put forth their slavish eulogiums in *your name*? We have heard of numerous instances of hyperbolical flattery, but never of one equal to "*England's Glory*," applied to a fickle, an irresolute, an inert, and inefficient being, who himself acknowledges that *he can do no good*, though placed in a situation, where even the poorest of talents might, and must, if honestly exerted; *do great good*. To apply an appellation like this to such a man, is not only shameful in itself, but it would seem to indicate a widely prevalent want of public principle; and it must have a tendency to disgust men of real worth, and to make them despise, and, of course, to be careless about the fate of, a

people who can be at once so base and so unjust. If this man, who can, or, at least, who really does, *do nothing*, be "*England's Glory*;" if *he* be "*Westminster's Pride*;" if this be the way in which *the people* estimate, what man can think it a duty to make real and efficient exertions for such a people? However, let me dismiss this topic, for the present, by expressing my conviction, that this preposterous and ridiculous appellation has been given without *your* sanction. But, let me add, that it is your *bounden duty* to interfere, and that, too, in an efficient manner, whenever the occasion again may arise. I know, that *you* do not sanction those contemptible annual festivals; where "*purity of election*" is chaunted by impudent men, who have, in effect, made your great city no better than a *rotten borough*, and where the hero of the Rump has the modesty to sit and hear himself styled the "*Glory of England*;" but, those festivals are held in *your name*; and it becomes you to vindicate your character.

To return from this digression, I shall, as I before said, insert the *documents*, beginning with "*Glory's*" letter to the Lord Mayor, who was Chairman of the

"*Reform Dinner.*" Then will come Mr. Canning's demand of a disavowal, or ———! Then GLORY's prompt and ample disavowal; and then the curious letter of Mr. KINNAIRD (one of "GLORY's" chickens!) accusing the editor of the COURIER of *forgery*, and complaining of *breach of confidence*. Lord WILLIAM BENTINCK's exposure of the nonsense of this complaint will close the collection, which collection, unless you separate yourselves from the *Rump* and their hero, will long remain a deep stigma on yourselves; for, the question naturally arises: if such be "*Westminster's Pride*," what must the *people* of Westminster be.

King's Bench Prison, April 4, 1821.

MY LORD,

You will not, I am sure, doubt the *sincerity* with which I express my regret at being unavoidably detained from the Meeting of this day. My heart is however amongst you, and my mind altogether in the great cause which you are met to promote. That cause has been supported by so much ability, acute reasoning and profound learning, that it baffles ingenuity to offer any thing importantly new upon the subject. Nor do I now take up my pen with the vain hope of doing any thing more than expressing my respect for the gentlemen assembled. Indeed, the question is itself so plain, and has been so elaborately set forth and illustrated, that to use the slang of the Honourable House, the people out of doors, the profane vulgar, perfectly understand it. For in this enlightened age and country, no one is, I take it, as ignorant as not to know, that to have is to have, which is the whole

of the subject; that if what I acquire, either by good fortune or the sweat of my brow, another can take from me without my own consent, it is not my property, but his; that in that case I am tenant at will; and that if any man, or set of men, can make laws to imprison my person, to which I have never consented, my person is as insecure as my property; in other words, that "Liberty and Property," the watchword of our forefathers, are sounds as senseless and empty as the beating of a drum—as

"Sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal."

Gentlemen, that Mr. Canning, I mention him as the champion of the party, *a part for the whole*, should defend to the utmost a system by the hocus pecus tricks by which he and his family get so much public money, can cause neither me nor any man suspicion or anger.

"For 'tis their duty, all the learned think,

"To espouse the cause by which they eat and drink."

Do I therefore say the House of Commons is corrupt? Not I indeed, even though I should run no risk of being transported—no such thing; they are true to the interest of those who send them. "*The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib*," and they at least equal the ox and the ass in knowledge and virtue, and are, moreover, superior to the Jews, for they do know their Maker. I will, however, boldly adduce their example, as proof undeniable, of benefits the people would derive from appointing their own representatives, seeing that these gentlemen are ever true to their own and their patrons' interest. This identity of interest keeps all smooth, and the public may rest assured that the same cause will ever produce the same effect, and that whenever the public shall have the appointment of their own House of Commons, the public expenditure will be controlled, the public burthens diminished, the public money applied to public purposes, and the public happiness and prosperity, in other words, "Liberty and Property" secured, and not till then. In the mean time I take this opportunity of expressing my satisfaction at

the cause being in such good hands, and to add, that the Reformers may always command, such as they are, my services in any way or situation which they can think useful.

I remain, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient,
FRANCIS BURDETT.

TO SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

Gloucester Lodge, June 7, 1821.

Sir—In a letter bearing your signature, and purporting to have been addressed by you to the Chairman of a dinner of Parliamentary Reformers, on the 4th of April, which was published in several of the newspapers of the following day, a liberty is taken with my name, as little justifiable (in my judgment) by differences of public opinion, as it is reconcileable with the ordinary courtesies of private life.—The obvious meaning of that passage in your letter of which I complain, is, to impute to me, that in upholding the present system of Representation in the House of Commons, I am actuated by the corrupt and dishonourable motive of a personal pecuniary interest.—It cannot be matter of surprise to you, that I should feel myself under the necessity of requiring at your hands a disavowal of the imputation which that passage appears to convey. Should you be unable, or unwilling, to afford me a satisfactory explanation upon this point, I have then to demand of you the only other reparation which an injury of such a nature admits. It can hardly be necessary to state to you, Sir, the reason why this demand has not been sooner made: but I owe it to myself to preclude the possibility of any doubt or misrepresentation, as to the causes of that delay. The first and natural impulse of my own feelings, was to address myself to you the instant that I had read your letter in the newspapers. But it was represented to me by the friend whom I requested to take charge of my letter, that your then situation rendered it impossible for you to accept the second of the alternatives proposed to you (a circumstance which, I must be permitted to observe, considerably aggravated the offence offered to me); that the utmost which I could obtain

from you was an engagement to afford me satisfaction, so soon as the term of your confinement should have expired; that the interval must be full of hazard as to secrecy; that without in any degree impeaching either your honour, or that of any gentleman whom you might select, the mere fact (which could hardly be concealed) of a communication between me or any friend of mine, and the King's Bench, could not fail to excite suspicion; and that such suspicion would necessarily be strengthened by my prolonging my stay in England till the middle of May, after having repeatedly and publicly announced my intention of waiting only for Mr. Lambton's motion of the 17th of April. Yielding for the time (and I know not how I could have done otherwise), to the force of these representations, it remained for me only to keep my own counsel, and to quicken, as much as possible, my return from the Continent. I arrived here yesterday evening. My first business on my arrival has been to communicate with Lord William Bentinck, who has the goodness to undertake to deliver this letter to you, and to settle, on my behalf, all necessary arrangements on the matter to which it relates. I assure you, upon my honour, that Lord William Bentinck is the only person who has any knowledge of this letter, or of my purpose to write it.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,
GEO. CANNING.

TO THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE CANNING

St. James's-place, June 8, 1821.

Sir—I am not aware of having made any unjustifiable allusion to you, or of having said of you in my letter to the Chairman of the Reform Meeting, more than all political men, who benefit from the system which they advocate, are fairly and necessarily subject to. The letter in question is now before me; and I am at a loss for a form of words in which I could have more guardedly marked the disqualification under which I conceive yourself and others to be from giving authority to your opinions on Parliamentary Reform, and at the same time have

avoided making any allusion whatever to personal character. Not having intended, and not having made (as I read the letter), any such allusion at the time, I cannot now hesitate in a more particular manner, to *disclaim having ever had such an intention.*

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) FRANCIS BURDETT.

TO SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

Gloucester Lodge, June 9, 1821.

Sir—Lord William Bentinck has just delivered to me the answer, which you have transmitted to his Lordship, through Mr. Kinnaird, to the letter which I addressed to you on Thursday. Lord William Bentinck's opinion (with which my own feelings entirely coincide) satisfies me that I can have no other reply to make to your Letter, than to express my acknowledgment for the frankness and promptitude, with which you have disclaimed any intention of personal offence.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) GEORGE CANNING.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

St. James's Square, June 12, 1821.

Sir—Some one has *forged* my name to a letter to the Editor of the *Courier*, authorizing the publication of a correspondence between Mr. Canning and Sir Francis Burdett. Lord William Bentinck has assured me he knows nothing about the matter. I did authenticate copies of the letters that had passed between the two gentlemen in question. But in so doing, at the special request of Lord William Bentinck, I stated that, although Sir Francis Burdett could have *no possible objection to their publication*, I should think it *unbecoming on his part to be a party to it*. As far as my own opinion went, of course, I could have opposed no obstacle to that which I thought *would do so much credit to Sir Francis*

Burdett. But his Lordship will recollect I stated *my surprise* if Mr. Canning should wish to give *notoriety* to such a transaction.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

DOUGLAS KINNAIRD.

We have been requested by Lord William Bentinck to give insertion to the following Letter:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

Park-lane, June 13, 1821.

Sir—A letter from Mr. D. Kinnaird, which appeared in your Paper of this day, in reference to the publication of the Correspondence between Mr. Canning and Sir Francis Burdett, requires from me the following explanation:—Certainly, the paragraph to which both our names are signed, though written by us, was not written as a letter to the Editor of the *Courier*, or to any other person. It was intended simply to authenticate the correspondence which it accompanied. The mistake, by which the Editor of the *Courier* considered it as addressed to himself, is explained by him in his Paper of this evening. With respect to the question of publishing, it is perfectly true that Mr. D. Kinnaird, though publication had his perfect assent, and though his authentication of the correspondence was given with that view, declined to be a party to it. But it is equally true, that publication, in some form or other, was always required by Mr. Canning, and was uniformly so stated by me to Mr. Kinnaird, from the moment that there appeared a prospect of the affair being brought to an amicable termination. I regret the mistake into which the Editor of *The Courier* has fallen, more especially as it has given rise to Mr. Kinnaird's letter, which although (as I am convinced, from all that has passed between us upon this occasion) without the intention of the writer, seems to detract something from that complete satisfaction to the feelings as well as to the honour of both the parties principally concerned, with which I can truly say Mr. Kinnaird and I

mutually flattered ourselves, that this transaction had happily terminated.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
W. BENTINCK.

The same letter *mutatis mutandis* appeared in *The Courier* of last night, with the following note addressed by the Editor of *The Courier* to Lord W. Bentinck, which, says the Editor, his Lordship wishes to be annexed to his own letter:

The Editor of *The Courier* presents his compliments to Lord William Bentinck, and has the honour to inform him, with reference to that part of Mr. Douglas Kinnaird's letter which relates to the alleged "*forgery*" of his name, that the mistake originated in a practice ordinarily adopted in giving publication to the communications of Correspondents, viz. that of causing them to be addressed to the Editor of the Journal in which they appear. It is surely superfluous to add, that there could have existed no motive of any other kind for thus introducing the Correspondence.

The following is the *forgery* complained of by Mr. DOUGLAS KINNAIRD.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR—The following Correspondence (Nos. 1, 2, 3,) having passed between Mr. Canning and Sir Francis Burdett, we declare it to be authentic.

W. BENTINCK,
DOUGLAS KINNAIRD.

June 11, 1821.

Thus we have all these curious documents before us; and, let us now see, whether you, Gentlemen, are ready to acknowledge; that *they* too are "*Westminster's Pride*."

As to the practice of duelling, though I by no means pretend that it includes any moral offence,

it is any thing rather than a trial of *courage*; for, nine times out of ten, the parties are urged on to it by *fear*; and we accordingly see the most perfect cowards fighting duels. Shakespeare has admirably illustrated the real character of the duellist in the play, called "*What you will*." Sir Andrew, a stupid drunken Knight, has *fallen into disgrace* with his Mistress, he is told; and he is also told, that he must regain his lost ground by "*some notable expedient of wit or of valour*." Whereupon, after pretty nearly *ascertaining* that his rival *will not fight*, he sends him a challenge, written in a "*curst and brief*" style and manner. But, despicable as the thing is; many as are the poltroons which it palms on the world for men of valour and of honour; monstrous as it is to suppose, that the fighting of a duel can make a rogue an honest man, and still more monstrous as it is to appeal to a pistol for the decision of an argument: still, if a man acknowledges the *legitimacy* of this mode of settling differences; if he will have the advantage attending the reputation of duel-fighting; if he will pretend to merit on account of a supposed readiness in him to fight duels; then, he subjects him-

self to the laws of duelling, and his conduct must be judged of by those laws.

Now, it is clear, that, when the complaining party comes, at once, to the point, and makes *disavowal* the condition, and the express and *only* condition, of *not fighting*, to *disavow* is to acknowledge *fear to fight*. This is so plain a thing that it cannot be questioned by any one. If, indeed, the injured, or pretended injured, party, call for an *explanation*, and in civil terms, *without accompanying the call with a statement of the fighting alternative*; then, even a high dueller, or, as they call it, "*man of honour*," may *explain*, and may, if truth will bear him out, *disavow*. But, to say to a fighter, "*you shall disavow or fight*," is to cut off the possibility of honourable *parley*. Upon this principle all men act. If the honest labourer be told to retract *on pain of a slap in the face*, nothing but *fear of the slap* will make him retract.

Here I leave this matter, it being, in my eyes, of far less importance than the political consequences of this, as Mr. Canning calls it, "*prompt disavowal*." Let us see what "*Glory's*" assertion was. It was this: that Mr. Canning defended to the utmost

a system, by the *hocus-pocus* tricks of which *he* and his *family* got much *public money*; that he espoused a cause by which *he* and his *family* *eat and drink*; that he was true to those who put it in his power to get this money, and to eat and drink, in like manner as the ox knoweth his *owner*, and the ass his *master's crib*.

This is the clear, the fair, the *only* meaning of the words; and, now, what says "*Glory*" of those words in his disavowal, or disclaimer? Why, that he had *no intention to make any allusion whatever to PERSONAL character*! The deuce he did not? Well! Let him then keep a glossary-monger to be the bearer of his despatches; for, it will henceforward be extremely dangerous to place the smallest degree of reliance on his *words* as they appear on the paper. Nothing *personal*! No *allusion* even to *personal character*! Good God! Then this may not be paper, on which I am writing, nor is this a pen that I hold in my hand. My name may not be William; and even "*Glory*" himself, as he once curiously enough observed, in one of his Crown-and-Anchor harangues, "*may be an oyster*." Plain as "*Glory*," in his Bardolph-like sustian, seems to re-

present the proposition, "that to have is to have," why are we too enlightened not to doubt of that, if we are to be made to believe, that here was no intention to allude to personal character?

Personal character! What! Tell a man that he defends a fraudulent (*hocus-pocus*) system for the sake of the money that he and his family get by it; tell him that he defends this false and wicked thing for the purpose of getting *eatables* and *drinkables*; tell him that he is, as to his employers, what the ox and ass are to their owner, and not to omit even the *crib*: and, after all this to say, that you mean *no* allusion to *personal character*! It must be confessed, that here is no *shuffle*, no *equivocation*; it is a plain, undisguised *swallowing of words*; and never did hungry ploughman more heartily open his shoulders to bolt down his master's bacon. If, to tell a man these things be not to allude to his *personal character*, neither is it to allude to his personal character to say, that he is a *charlatan*, a *thief*, a *mean dependent toad-eater*, a fellow that supports villany for the sake of getting *enough to eat and drink*.

But, Gentlemen, there is a great deal more than this *swallowing of*

words (which is certainly not the least disgraceful sort of *eating*) which hangs to the new doctrine here sent forth by "Glory." It amounts to this: that a man may support a *hocus-pocus* system for the purpose of getting money; for the purpose of getting *eatables* and *drinkables*; that he may be to the chiefs of such a system what the ox is to his owner and the ass to his master's crib: and that, *notwithstanding all this*, he may be a man of *good character*, an *honourable man*! Mind the poison of this doctrine; mark the mischievous tendency of it; and find out, if you can, from "Glory," what he would deem *bad character*; what he would deem a *dishonourable man*. Mark, I pray you, the sweeping effect of this doctrine! A man may be a *peculator*, that is to say, a *public robber*; he may *give or take bribes*; he may be a *partial judge*; he may be a *traitor* or *rebel*; and yet bring no stain upon his *personal character*! He is still to be deemed an *honourable man*! He may, with all these atrocious crimes on his head, be the "*Pride of Westminster*:" and may possibly arrive at that pinnacle where the Rump will hail him as "*England's Glory*."

In order to shift off the charge

of direct individual imputation "Glory" generalizes his assault, and says, that his letter (as *he* read it! Oh, God!) said "no more than all *political* men, "who *benefit* from a system "which they *advocate*, are *fairly* "and *necessarily* subject to." What "Glory!" are *all* political men who benefit from a system which they advocate *fairly* and even *necessarily* subject to be accused of acting, in such cases, merely from motives of getting money, and getting food and drink? If this be the case no government can ever be carried on by *paid* functionaries; for all such must be mean and base wretches. Now *Mr. Monro and the Congress* are all *paid*. They all *benefit* from the system that they *advocate*; and are *they* also, *fairly* and **NECESSARILY**, subject to have imputed to them the corrupt and base motive that your letter (whether justly or not I, *for my part*, do not pretend to say) imputes to Mr. Canning? Go and try your bombast a little upon some Virginian, and see how quickly he will teach you the meaning of words!

Gentlemen, talk not of aristocratical pride and insolence, if you acknowledge this to be sound doctrine. No man, according to

this doctrine, is to be *paid* for any *public services*; for, as to the qualification, contained in the word "*political*," what does it amount to? What is *political*? Why, connected with, or having relation to, *public affairs*; belonging to the *management of a nation's concerns*. Every Minister, every person employed in the affairs of government, every governor of a colony and all those employed under him; every *judge, justice of the peace*, and even the *King himself*: they are all *political men*: and, according to "*Glory*," if they be *paid*; or, if they *benefit* from that mode of governing which they *advocate* (and which it is their *duty* to advocate, *mind*); if they *benefit* from it, that is to say, if they be *paid* for their services, they are all "*fairly and necessarily*" subject to the charge of advocating it for the sake of the money that it brings them; for the sake of getting eatables and drinkables; and, they are to be compared to the ox and the ass. So that, it comes to this, that all *political men* are to serve the public *for nothing*, and, of course, are to consist of those who have great wealth of their own! The folly of this is manifest enough; but the aristocratical insolence of it exceeds its

fully. Why has "*Glory*" wealth? Not because nature has given him any particular claim to it; but, because there have been, and are "*political men who benefit from the system they advocate*" to prevent people from taking it from him. The fact is, that, in order to fritter away the imputation on Mr. Canning, "*Glory*" makes a general sweep at all functionaries, in all times, under all circumstances, and in all countries.

But, Gentlemen, electors of Westminster, are you to forget, then, the *colleague* of "*Glory*?" That colleague is, indeed, no *placeman himself*; but Mr. Canning's *family* was introduced. And, is Mr. *Hobhouse's* family to be forgotten? Mr. Hobhouse's father has, for years and years, been a *Commissioner of the Nabob of Arcot's Debts*, with a salary of 1,200*l.* a year. Mr. Hobhouse's uncle is Secretary to the famous *Sidmouth*, and has, of course, been an adviser and assister of that renowned man during the whole of his renowned works. The family of Mr. Hobhouse has received more public money than the family of Mr. Canning, the latter himself included. Oh! but it is *uncandid* to make Mr. Hobhouse answer-

able for this, though, in all human probability his fortune will consist, in part at least, of what his father receives in this way, and though he lives under the roof of that father, studying, day and night, the doctrines hostile to "*political men benefitting from the system they advocate!*" But, then, where is the *justice* of the imputations on Mr. Canning? If one of the *Hobhouses*; if a son of the *Commissioner of Carnatic Debts* (an office that I dare not properly characterize), if such a person be to be palmed upon you by "*Glory*," what reason; what sense; what consistency; what *decency* is there in "*Glory's*" imputing base and corrupt motives to *all* men engaged in the management of public affairs? What *decency* was there in *his* dragging forth the pension to the mother and sisters of Mr. Canning? It is very true, that "*to have is to have*;" and, Gentlemen, be you assured, that for Mr. Canning's family to *have* public money is just as well for you as for Mr. Hobhouse's family *to have* it.

So much for "*Glory's*" doctrines of *disinterestedness*, of which, probably, I shall say more by and by. I now come to the part that Mr. KINNAIRD has acted in this Westminster drama. He

writes to the *Morning Chronicle* complaining that the *Courier* (or some one in it) has *forged his name!* Forged his name! Now, mind, here is a certificate of authenticity. It is *signed by Mr. Kinnaird*. He is requested to sign it by Lord W. Bentinck who receives it from him. The latter states to him, *at the time of signing, that Mr. Canning requires that it shall be published.* It is published; and, because there is, at the top of it, "*To the Editor of the Courier,*" Mr. Kinnaird says that this is a *forgery of his name* to the certificate!

What a miserable effusion of mortification! What folly too! What incomparable and incomprehensible folly! The brains as well as the heart must have been gone. What could be more fair, more open, more honourable, than the conduct, in this case, of Lord William and his principal? If Mr. Canning will always treat us real Reformers in this way, we will never complain of him. His Ambassador declared before hand, that *publication must take place.* Indeed, publication was absolutely necessary. Without that *nothing was accomplished.* What! for a public insult was there to be a private and secret apology? Nonsense! And nonsense, too, that no one other than a chicken of "Glory" would ever have suffered to enter into its head, much less drop from its pen.

This querulous letter of Mr. Kinnaird is full of follies. Why make the gratuitous confession, that he *signed* the certificate "at the *special request* of Lord William Bentinck?" And, then, to say, that he himself, "could,

of course, wish to oppose an obstacle to the publication of that which he thought would do so much honour to Sir Francis Burdett;" to say this, at the very moment when he is discovering that he endeavoured to prevail on Lord William to *prevent publication*, and when he is discovering senseless rage at the publication having taken place; really, to put all this before the public eye, and that, too, without broomstick at back or pistol at breast; to do this thing voluntarily, and even eagerly, and to seem to think that it would tend to relieve the desperate case of his client, is something wholly unparalleled in the annals of folly; but it is no more than was to be expected from one of those unfledged politicians that "Glory" chose to take under his wing when he abandoned the cause of the people in 1817. He has supped sorrow for that on many occasions since; and the dose is not yet half down his throat.

But, Gentlemen, let us have a little more about this *forgery*. For thereby hangs an illustrative tale. This was *forgery*, was it? This was *forging a name*. Come, then. The *Ramp*, the supporters of this very "*Glory*," finding him *hard pushed* in 1818, got from John Wright a private letter of mine, written ten years before, in perfect confidence, and they deputed Cleary to read a *part* of this letter on the hustings of Covent Garden. It was then published, the *top and the bottom cut off*, and my name *clapped at the bottom of the middle*. I called *this a forgery*. I was *sued* for so calling it; and, what you will be so just, I hope, as to bear in mind, "*Glory*" rode, afterwards, in a

procession got up and conducted by these very persons: that very Cleary rode the milk-white charger (emblem of purity!) before him, who was seated in the cerulean car, surmounted with the banners of "*Westminster's Pride and England's Glory!*" And yet it is *forgery* in the Editor of the Courier to put at the top of authentic and literally correct papers, *sent to him for publication*, which publication had been expressly stipulated for by Lord William Bentinck; it is *forgery*, it is to *forge a name*, to put at the head of these documents the words, "*to the Editor of the Courier!*" Bah! as the French say, when they turn up their noses.

I could go on a little, here, about publishing even *private letters*; but, I reserve that matter for another occasion, and will now, in discussing this part of my subject, just request you to join me

in admiration of the sweet simplicity with which Mr. Kincaid tells us, that he stated to Lord William his "*surprise* if Mr. Canning should wish to give "*notoriety to the transaction!*" This is a specimen of *naïveté* far surpassing that of the Shepherds of Frith-street. How Lord William Bentinck must have laughed. If he has any children of his own, the remark must have sent his mind back to the nursery, and set it to wandering amongst the whistles and rattles of the rising generation. And this, oh humbugged Effectors of Westminster! *this too*; yea, even *this*, was, if "*Glory*" and the Rump could have had their way, to have been one of the persons that "*purity of election*" was to send into parliament, there to espouse and to maintain the cause of the people, in times of great difficulty and peril!

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending April 20.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat ..	56	0	Rye	39	9
Barley ..	39	6	Beans ...	46	9
Oats	30	2	Pease ...	45	8

Total Quantity of Corn returned as Sold in the Maritime Districts, for the week ended April 20.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	32,636	Rye	185
Barley ..	13,407	Beans . . .	1,416
Oats ...	9,528	Pease	323

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, April 21.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat..	4,730 for 13,980	13	6	Average, 58	10		
Barley..	2,730 ..	5,457	5	10	40	10	
Oats..	3,355 ..	5,372	16	4	33	0	
Rye....	— ..	—	—	—	—	—	
Beans..	592 ..	1,227	6	2	43	8	
Pease..	242 ..	544	17	3	45	0	

Friday, April 27.—There have been very short supplies this week of English Grain and Flour, and a moderate arrival of foreign Oats. Wheat, of fine quality, is so scarce that it looks upward in price, and is expected to be dearer. Barley, Beans, and Pease fully maintain the terms of Monday last. Oats have met a limited sale at last quotations.

Monday, April 30.—During the past week the supplies of all descriptions of English Grain were small; but of foreign Oats there was a good arrival. There is another small fresh supply this morning, of Wheat, Barley, Beans and Pease, from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, and very little Corn from more distant ports. The supply of Flour now comes short, and most of the country markets near the metropolis being rather higher for Wheat, this article has sold freely here to-day, and the prices may be quoted full 1s. per quarter higher than on this day se'nnight.

Barley well maintains the terms last quoted. Beans find buyers readily at 1s. to 2s. per quarter advance. Pease are without variation, except fine Greys, which are rather dearer. There has been a good demand for Oats, chiefly by country buyers, and the prices of last week have been well supported for this article. No alteration in the price of Flour.

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. Loaf is stated at 9d. by the full-priced Bakers.

COAL MARKET, April 27.

Ships at Market. Ships sold. Price.

24½ Newcastle 20½.. 29s. 0d. to 38s. 0d.
2½ Sunderland 1½.. 36s. 0d.— 38s. 3d.

Account of Wheat, &c. arrived in the Port of London, from April 23 to April 28, both inclusive.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	4,492	Tares	566
Barley ..	1,080	Linseed ..	2,134
Malt	3,355	Rapeseed ..	498
Oats	4,459	Brank ..	—
Beans ...	360	Mustard ..	—
Flour	4,247	Flax	—
Rye	—	Hemp ...	—
Pease	1,241	Seeds ...	8

Foreign.—Wheat, 2,507; Barley, 3,837; Oats, 18,231; Beans, 1,412 quarters.

Monday, April 30.—The arrivals from Ireland last week were, 131 firkins of Butter, and 3,108 hales of Bacon; and from Foreign Ports, 3,890 casks of Butter.

Price of Hops, per Cwt. in the Borough.

Monday, April 30.—During last week there was a great deal of business done in new Hops, at an advance of from 2s. to 4s. per cwt. upon our last currency. The reports continue to come very unfavourable from the plantations, which has reduced the duty to 110,000*l*.

Maidstone, April 26.—There is nothing doing with us this week in the Hop Trade. The few growths left are almost at a stand, as both buyers and sellers seem to wait the appearance of the bine.

Worcester, April 25.—On Saturday 132 pockets of Hops were weighed. The accounts from the plantation state, that in throwing down the hills the plants in many yards look healthy and strong; but in other places they are either dead or weak.

SMITHFIELD.

Monday, April 30.—Beef being rather short on Friday, the trade was good at about last Monday's terms. Mutton was a heavy sale, though but little alteration in price. Lamb sold at former rates. To-day, Beef and Mutton are both lower; and a dragging trade. The best Beasts do not fetch so much as this day se'nnight, by 20s. a head; and middling things have sustained a still greater reduction. A few prime things have made 2*d*. a stone above our top currency. The best polled shorn Sheep are quoted at 5*s*. 2*d*. a stone; and Downs, in the Wool, 5*s*. 8*d*.; but both those prices may be considered rather strained. Lamb continues at 6*s*. to 7*s*. a stone.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	4	0	to	5 0
Mutton ...	4	6	—	5 8
Veal	4	6	—	5 4
Pork	4	6	—	5 4
Lamb	6	6	—	7 0
Beasts . . .	1,967		Sheep ..	16,300
Calves ...	150		Pigs ...	193

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	8	to	4 6
Mutton ...	4	0	—	5 4
Veal	3	8	—	5 8
Pork	4	0	—	6 0
Lamb	4	0	—	6 0

LEADENHALL, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef ...	3	6	to	4 6
Mutton ...	4	4	—	5 4
Veal	3	8	—	5 4
Pork	4	4	—	5 8
Lamb	4	0	—	7 0

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS, per Tbu.				
	l.	s.	d.	
Ox-Nobles.....	3	15	to	0 0
Middlings.....	2	10	—	0 0
Chats.....	2	0	—	0 0
Common Red..	4	0	—	0 0
Onions, 0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.				

BOROUGH, per Ton.				
	l.	s.	d.	
Ox-Nobles....	8	10	to	4 10
Middlings.....	2	0	—	0 0
Chats.....	1	0	—	0 0
Common Red..	4	0	—	0 0

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

<i>Smithfield.</i> —Hay....		90s. to 115s.
Straw...		40s. to 42s.
Clover. 100s. to 140s.		
<i>St. James's.</i> —Hay....		80s. to 100s.
Straw ..		39s. to 48s.
Clover, 132s. to 140s.		
<i>Whitechapel.</i> —Hay....		80s. to 115s.
Straw... 38s. to 42s.		
Clover.. 90s. to 135s.		

AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN, sold in the Maritime Counties of England and Wales, for the Week ended April 20, 1897.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
London*.....	58	11	40	7	33	5
Essex.....	58	5	37	8	30	10
Kent.....	55	10	40	3	30	0
Sussex.....	55	7	40	9	30	0
Suffolk.....	55	7	37	5	31	0
Cambridgeshire.....	61	3	35	4	28	5
Norfolk.....	54	9	37	1	28	4
Lincolnshire.....	55	4	40	9	26	0
Yorkshire.....	55	0	42	8	28	0
Burham.....	56	3	41	8	35	2
Northumberland.....	54	1	38	6	33	0
Cumberland.....	61	2	39	10	35	9
Westmoreland.....	62	10	46	8	37	8
Lancashire.....	62	0	42	5	36	4
Cheshire.....	61	2	0	0	30	8
Gloucestershire.....	57	4	43	6	39	0
Somersetshire.....	54	8	42	10	35	4
Monmouthshire.....	61	3	46	8	0	0
Devonshire.....	56	4	38	8	29	3
Cornwall.....	60	0	39	9	38	0
Dorsetshire.....	53	2	39	5	34	0
Hampshire.....	55	4	41	7	30	11
North Wales.....	62	3	44	9	34	8
South Wales.....	58	11	43	10	26	9

* The London Average is always that of the Week preceding.

Liverpool, April 24.—Although the arrivals of Grain have again been moderate since this day week, the Corn trade has continued very languid here, and in all the Corn markets around us; the dealers and Millers have purchased very sparingly of Wheat and Oats for their immediate wants; prices last noted have been barely supported for the finest qualities, and a small decline has been submitted to on inferior descriptions. For Indian Corn (chiefly of the white) there has been a fair demand for shipment to Ireland, and this article has fully supported last quotations. In all other articles there has been little done, and no alteration in prices. In bonded Grain and Flour we can note no particular transactions, nor any change in prices. At this day's market we have had a moderate demand for Wheat at a small decline, though not sufficient to alter the general quotations in our last. For Oats the sales were very limited, and a reduction of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 1d. per 45 lbs. was submitted to. Of other articles very few sales were effected, and prices remain without alteration.

Imported into Liverpool, from April 17, to April 23, 1827, inclusive:—Wheat, 6,212; Barley, 71; Oats, 3,547; Beans, 130; Pease, 150 quarters. Oatmeal, 151 packs, per 240 lbs. Flour, 1,105 sacks, per 280 lbs.

Bristol, April 28.—There is so little alteration in our Corn markets here since our last statement, that it is not worth notice. The following are about the present prices.—Wheat, from 5s. 6d. to 7s. 6d.; Barley, 4s. 4½d. to 6s. 3d.; Beans, 5s. 6d. to 8s.; Oats, 3s. 3d. to 4s. 3d.; and Malt, 5s. 6d. to 8s. 3d. per bushel, Imperial. Flour, Seconds, 33s. to 42s. per bag.

Guildford, April 28.—Wheat, new, for meal, 15l. 10s. to 17l. 10s. per load. Barley, 39s. to 44s.; Oats, 33s. to 42s.; Beans, 53s. to 56s.; Pease, grey, 60s. to 62s.; ditto, boilers, 62s. to 64s. per quarter.

Horncastle, April 28.—Our Corn market continues nearly the same as our last.—Wheat, 54s. to 56s.; Barley, 40s. to 43s.; Oats, 30s. to 35s.; Beans, 60s. to 64s.; and Rye from 40s. to 45s. per quarter.

Ipswich, April 28.—Our market was very shortly supplied. Wheat was 1s. per quarter dearer; in other grain no alteration: prices as follow:—Wheat, 54s. to 63s.; Barley, 36s. to 41s.; and Beans, 47s. to 49s. per quarter.

Manchester, April 28.—Since this day week the arrivals of nearly all descriptions of Grain have been inconsiderable, but of Flour large, from Yorkshire, &c., and the transactions have been on a limited scale. At our market to-day we had a slender attendance of country dealers, and what few sales were made were on similar terms to this day se'nnight, with the exception of Flour, which is 1s. per sack lower.

Newcastle-on-Tyne, April 28.—We had a large supply of Wheat from the farmers, most of it from the northern part of the county, this morning, but having no coasting supply, the sale was tolerably brisk at last week's prices. Rye continues in demand at last week's prices. The arrivals of Barley have been sold at 44s. per quarter, and there is yet a demand at that price. Malt is rather dearer. The supply of Oats from the farmers was large for the season, and we had more foreign arrivals this week. English and foreign free Oats sold slowly at rather lower prices, but Oats in bond are 1s. per quarter dearer.

Reading, April 28.—We had a short supply of Wheat this day, but the quality was superior to any brought to market for some time past; it met a tolerably ready sale at an advance of 1s. per quarter; we note it by the Imperial measure, 55s. to 68s. per quarter. There was a short supply of Barley, which sold at 1s. to 2s. per quarter higher.

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Horncastle, April 28.—Beef, 9s. per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton, 8d.; Pork, 7d. to 8d.; and Veal, 8d. to 9d. per lb.

Manchester Smithfield Market, April 25.—At this day's market the supply of Sheep was better than on this day week, and the weather being very unfavourable, from the fall of snow, which is rather unusual at this season of the year, the dealers were inclined to take rather less money for fat Mutton, and, at a reduction of $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per lb., there was a tolerable good clearance made. Fat Beasts sold on full as good terms as this day week, while lean sorts were totally disregarded. Pigs barely support last week's rates.—Beef, $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 8d.; Mutton, 7d. to 9d.; Veal, 5d. to $6\frac{1}{2}$ d.; and Pork, $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. to $5\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb., sinking offal.

Norwich Castle Meadow, April 28.—We had a good supply of fat Cattle to this day's market, and the demand was brisk at 7s. 6d. to 8s. 6d. per stone of 14 lbs., sinking offal; that of Store was very large; Scots sold at 4s. to 4s. 6d. per stone of what they will weigh when fat; Shorthorns, 3s. 6d. Pigs cheap; fat ones to 7s. 6d. per stone.—Meat: Beef, 7d. to 9d.; Veal, 6d. to 8d.; Mutton, 6d. to $7\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Lamb, 9d.; and Pork, 6d. to 8d. per lb.

At *Morpeth Market*, April 25th, there was a good supply of Cattle and Sheep. From the high prices, and there not being a great demand, both stood long, and the latter met with very dull sale, and part were not sold. Beef, from 7s. 3d. to 8s.; Mutton, 9s. 9d. to 11s. per stone, sinking offal.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

VOL. 62.—No. 7.] LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 12, 1827. [Price 6d.



"I would fain hope, that the example given by the people of Westminster, might encourage other places still to contend for that small portion of Independence which yet remains in the country; and thereby keep alive, at least in the remembrance of their countrymen, their ancient constitutional right to a full, fair, and free representation of the people in Parliament, their only quiet and peaceable security, at all times, for their rights and property, against the despotism and plunder of the few. For these purposes you shall always find me, either in or out of Parliament, READY TO LAY DOWN MY LIFE."—SIR FRANCIS BURDETT'S LETTER TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER, 16TH OCTOBER, 1812.

TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER, ON THE MONSTROUS INTRIGUES AND THE MONSTROUS COALITION, AND ESPECIALLY ON THE CONDUCT OF THEIR MEMBER, SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

Kensington, 10th May, 1827.
GENTLEMEN,
AGAIN I say, "Look at the Motto," and then view the conduct of the author of the Letter (a Letter addressed to yourselves), from which that Motto is extracted. But, before I proceed to

comment upon that conduct, before I proceed to show the extent of the insolence, the ingratitude, the perfidiousness of that author towards the people of Westminster; towards that people who have done so much for him, and who have been so unvaryingly faithful

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Printed and Published by WILLIAM COBBETT, No. 183, Fleet-street.
[ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL].

and indulgent to him; before I proceed to do this, and to show how the people at large are now intended to be sacrificed by both and by all the factions, let me first request your attention to the monstrous intrigues and the monstrous coalition that have taken place.

At the time when CANNING was complimenting BROUGHAM, and receiving the compliments of the latter; at the time when these two wordy politicians were reciprocating compliments upon the subject of the mad project of forcing what they call liberty, but what I call plunder under the name of liberty, upon Portugal; at that time, it was easy to see, that Canning foresaw something that would make it necessary for him to form a coalition with that old, battered part of the "regiment" (as Sir Francis Burdett used to call it) which had for so many years been so heartily despised under the name of Whigs. Indeed, long before that, he seems to have had a pretty clear under-

standing with some of them that they should join together for the purpose of putting him at the head of affairs, and of obtaining snug things for them under him. It was understood, and, indeed, it was manifest enough to all the world, that Canning and the late LORD CHANCELLOR pretty cordially detested one another; and that, if LIVERPOOL should happen to drop out of the socket, a contest would arise, that would bring the strength of these parties to a trial. That some part of the creatures called Tories would stick to Canning was certain: he had his little band; and that band must stick to him or become mere underlings. For three or four years, the people called Whigs have been playing into his hands, in order to give him weight and power against his colleagues of the other part of the Ministry. Liverpool balanced between the two, and thus kept his place and power. When he dropped out, the contest came. Now, it was manifest to me, that, a long

time ago, he was very likely to drop out. In the month of May last, I saw him in the House of Lords; and I could call upon twenty gentlemen to prove that, between that month and the month of September, I gave a description of him, and gave an opinion founded on that description, which opinion was, that he could remain to act in office but a very short time. If I, who could see him only by just getting a squeezing peep at him in the House of Lords; if I could come to this conclusion; and that, too, with perfect impartiality, because I cared no more about his health or capacity than I cared about the health or capacity of any snail or slug that is an inhabitant of my neighbour's garden; if I could, under such circumstances, come to this conclusion, is it not fairly to be presumed, that Canning, who saw him so frequently, who had so many opportunities of ascertaining his state, must have come to something very much like the same conclusion? In short, when

I was in the House of Lords, on the day of the debate on Lord MALMSBURY's motion relative to the corn laws, I heard Lord BATHURST make his speech in opposition to Lord Malmsbury's proposed motion, and I heard Lord Liverpool, who sat on the same bench, on the right hand of Lord Bathurst, repeating, loud enough for me to hear the words at the bar (which is a distance nearly half the length of the House between the throne and the bar) the *closing nine or ten words of every sentence uttered by Lord Bathurst*; and this work of repeating he continued in my hearing and to the astonishment of myself and all about me, during the whole of Lord Bathurst's speech, which lasted for more than half an hour. It was impossible to believe, that, to whatever this might be ascribable, it indicated any thing short of an ailment of some sort or other, that would naturally produce the retirement, in some way, of Lord Liverpool. This would not escape Canning.

and the Whigs; and, accordingly, we find that their complimenting of each other increased, day by day, till at last it was manifest to every body that there was an intention to form a junction which should enable Canning to oust his colleagues. They are now ousted; and the Whigs are sitting, intermingled with the small Tories, with this same Canning at their head. Whether it be true or not, that Canning received the proposition for a coalition from the Whigs or they from him, is of very little consequence to us; whether it be true, as it has been suggested in the House of Lords, that he received this proposition, kept it ten days in his pocket, then laid it before the King, and never, during the ten days, communicated it to his colleagues; whether this be true or false, signifies not a farthing to us; nor would it signify a farthing to us, whether the coalition were formed or not; whether Whigs or Tories, or partly one and partly the other, composed the new Ministry; but, it signifies greatly to us, when the cause of Parliamentary Reform is to be sacrificed, when that cause is to become the victim of this intrigue; when those who have pretended that they wished for Parliamentary Reform, come and place themselves on the side of Canning, who has always been its bitterest enemy; come and sit at his back and give him all the support in their power; come and do this, without saying one single word about any thing to be obtained in favour of the people. Nay, when they come and disclaim the cause of Reform; when they say that the people no longer wish for it; when, in short, they clearly show us that they mean not only to abandon the cause of the people; not only never to do any thing any more with a view of obtaining the people justice; not only to withdraw even all their pretended support of the people's cause; but when they almost openly declare that they will make a sacrifice of the people's rights for the sake of securing power

and emolument for themselves. This is a matter that *does concern us*: the miserable renegado reptiles will be deceived: even if you were indifferent to your own security and to the honour of your country, and even if all the people followed your example in that respect; even then the renegadoes would not succeed in their intentions; for, events will speedily arise that will cripple all their projects, that will disconcert all their deep-laid schemes, that will throw them into utter confusion; and make even those whom they have ousted, congratulate themselves upon having lost their power and their places: the renegadoes will find that they have over-reached themselves, and that they have gained nothing but danger and disgrace, greater than they have ever known before; but, this forms no apology for their conduct: they mean well; they mean well for themselves: they mean to get possession of power and emolument, and to keep them for the whole length of their lives; this is what

they mean, and we will do them the justice to take the will for the deed.

They will be defeated; but, it is no reason for our keeping silence. Though time, and a short time, will see all their schemes blasted, it is our duty to defend ourselves against those schemes. It is our duty to assert the rights which they have so flagrantly abandoned; and if we do not assert those rights at this time, we shall deserve, and we shall be and our children after us will be to be bandied about, from faction to faction, to be kicked backward and forward, to be tossed up and down, to have our purses emptied at the end of every month, and to be, in short, the most despicable slaves that ever toiled for a set of greedy masters.

But, some one may say, is it not a good thing to see ousted that set of men, who have, during so many years, been doing, every year, so many things which I and which you and which the people

at large have so loudly complained of: is it not a good thing to see this band broken up, divested of power, and tasting, at last, of something like humiliation? A very good thing! A very good thing in itself, a very good thing in its natural consequences; for, my conviction is, that it must lead to good, and that it will be one means of accelerating the total destruction of that system of which we have been so justly complaining for so many years. But, even this great good is worth nothing; it is even an evil, if it be to be purchased by an *abandonment of the cause of Parliamentary Reform*. It is not the *men*: it is the horrible *system*, the Borough-system which has caused us to suffer, and which causes us still to suffer. Why do we pay five-pence halfpenny a pot for porter, instead of that three halfpence which we should pay, if there were none of those taxes, of which the remainder of the price is composed? Why do we pay, at this moment, seven shillings a bushel

for the wheat which we ought to have for little more than three shillings and sixpence the bushel? What is the cause of this? Is not the cause as plain as the nose upon one's face? Do we wish to pay thus for our bread and our beer? Do we wish to have our earnings thus taken away from us? Certainly we do not: we wish not to have them thus taken away: what is it that takes them away? The *law*: and who makes the law? Not men of our choosing. The law is made by a set of men, who are not chosen by the people at large. According to the petition presented by Lord GREY, and now lying upon the table of the House of Commons, a majority of the Members of that House are put into it by less than two hundred great men; by the will and pleasure of less than two hundred great men. Therefore it is, that we pay the taxes we pay; therefore it is that the great mass of us are poor and miserable; therefore it is that we are deprived of our suitable enjoyments. If the laws

were made by men chosen by the people at large, these men would not and could not consent that taxes so enormous should be raised upon the food and drink of the people. Let me put this question to any rational being. Does he believe that, if the people had the choosing of the makers of the laws, those law-makers would ever have given their consent to the giving of half-pay as *military officers*, to men who were now parsons, having livings and receiving tithes, surplus fees, and Easter-offerings as clergymen of the church? It is impossible: no man in his senses and who has any love of truth about him, will say that he believes that men, chosen by the people, would have thus disposed of money arising from taxes on the food and drink of that people, on their soap, their candles, their tea, their tobacco, their sugar, their pepper, their, in short, almost every article forming a necessary of life. No rational man will say that he believes such a thing; how, then, are we to be-

come better off without a change in the mode of electing the law-makers? Is not this the greatest thing of all? Is not this the only thing worth seeking after with earnestness? and if this be abandoned; if those who are to come and succeed the late Ministers are to begin their career by saying that no reform is necessary, or by acting as if they said so; what does this wretched people get by this change? They are made worse off than they were before. They have fast enemies, avowed enemies in the set that are gone out; and they have lost even the pretended friendship of the set that are come in. There is nobody, now, even to speak for them; but, I trust that they are not so base or so foolish as to abstain from speaking for themselves; and that, too, upon every occasion and in every way that presents itself to them.

Nobody can doubt that, before the overture was made to Canning by the Whigs; that long before that, a part of this old

rump of politicians, who had been accustomed to speak or to vote for reform of Parliament, clearly saw the difficulty in which they would be placed, if they joined Canning. That they would join him if they could thereby obtain a chance of getting any thing by it, was certain. They knew, well enough, that he could not stand a day if he did not distinctly declare that *he would never consent to a Reform of the Parliament*. They knew that he must make this declaration, or that he would be ousted in a twinkling. They knew that there was that majority in the House of Commons so well described and so positively asserted in Lord Grey's petition: they knew well that that majority would turn him out in a trice if he did not give them an assurance that he would always continue hostile to Reform. They knew that he would declare perpetual hostility to it, and therefore they began to prepare themselves for accounting for going over to his side and supporting him in spite

of this declaration of his, of eternal hostility to Reform! This was a pretty tough job to manage: one would wonder how *any* man, however impudently profligate, could, at the end of twenty years of repeated solemn declarations, that the nation never could be freed from oppression without a Reform of the Parliament; one would wonder how even the most barefacedly profligate of all mankind could, after all this, go over, sit at the back of a man, call a man their right honourable friend, pledge themselves to support a man as prime minister, who should solemnly declare to their faces, at the very time that they were supporting him and pledging themselves to support him, that he would *oppose Parliamentary Reform to the last hour of his having a seat in that House!* Yet, this is what the coalescing Whigs have done; and have thus made good all our charges against them; have thus proved themselves to be the false friends of Reform; have thus proved to

actual demonstration that they have made use of Reform as a means of deceiving the people, and of thereby gaining some strength wherewith to annoy the Ministers in order to get possession of power and emolument themselves.

But, let us hear a little of the reasons given by these coalescing Whigs, for having joined the great and mortal enemy of Reform, and for persevering in supporting him, after hearing his declaration that his hostility to it shall cease only with his parliamentary life. The reasons given by Mr. Brougham are these: that, for some years past, particularly since the death of Castlereagh, who cut his own throat at North Cray in Kent, the people have become *indifferent* with respect to the cause of Reform; that there has been much coolness amongst the people with regard to it; that the Government has been conducted in a manner to give general satisfaction; that the nation has felt itself so well off under this new mode of carrying

on the Government; since Canning came into office in 1822, that the people have not any longer been anxious about a Reform of the Parliament; and that, therefore, NOW that question may be passed over and these Whigs may agree to support Mr. Canning, though he solemnly declares that he never will consent to Reform. Much about the same thing was said by Lord JOHN RUSSELL, who is now member for a borough in Ireland, while your member BURDETT, the author of the motto to this paper; the author, as I shall show, one of these days, of more than *two hundred solemn declarations*, that every thing was false; that every thing was an infamous pretence which professed to have in view to better the lot of the people, until there should be a Reform of the Commons' House of Parliament, which he, seventeen different times, has pledged himself to defend, to support by all manner of means, and to obtain if possible, and at the risk of his life, if necessary. While the others

give the above reasons for supporting the bitter and everlasting enemy of Reform, this hero says, this "Westminster's Pride and England's Glory" says, that "as to Reform, he will VOTE for it "and vote for *any Reforms*, "whenever they shall be brought forward"! This is what he says; and, thus, they all abandon the cause of Reform, most expressly, and they tell us as plainly as they can tell us, that they will support the man, he being Prime Minister, too, who plainly tells them that he will oppose it to the last hour of his parliamentary life.

Now, as to these reasons given by the coalescing Whigs, and coming from the mouth of Mr. Brougham. First, they tell us that, for five years past, the people have appeared indifferent with respect to the cause of Reform. They choose to forget that, for a considerable part of that time, there has been a law actually in force to prevent the people from meeting to talk about Reform,

unless at the manifest peril of their lives; and that law, after having remained in full force so long, the people regarded as being the law for ever, and a vast majority of them still look upon it as law to this day. They choose to forget, too, the dungeons and bills of indemnity of 1817 and 1818. They choose to forget the long imprisonments, the terrible sufferings, the horrible ruin and laceration, of hundreds of men, for no other crime than that of being known to be serious in the cause of Reform; they forget the fate of poor Riley; they choose to forget the choppings and shootings and trappings at Manchester; they choose to forget the Oldham Inquest; they choose to forget that the shaking of the bowels out of the body of poor Ogden, became the subject of an illimitative jest, which set the House in a roar of laughter; and they choose to forget or to append to forget, that it is with the jester that they have now coalesced, for the sake of coming into the commu-

ble, and getting at a share of what the Reformers wished to keep from them all.

These things were pretty well calculated to cool the Reformers. If hammers, axes, guns, bayonets, the trampling of horses' feet, years in a solitary cell and bowels shaken out of the body; if these be not sufficient to cool men, they must be of a nature like Etna. Still they have not been indifferent: wherever the people have met, they have not shewn a coolness on the subject. In the counties of Kent, Surrey, Norfolk, Huntingdonshire, Cambridge-shire, county meetings have all sent up petitions for Reform of the Parliament, and that, too, since the man cut his throat at North Cray in Kent. During this very winter, there has been a petition from Renfrewshire, for Parliamentary Reform. The people, properly so called, the promiscuous multitude, have met nowhere in public meeting, to petition upon any subject, without including Parliamentary Reform.

In stating their complaints against the Corn Bill; in framing prayers against that cruel tax, they have never failed to ascribe it to a want of Parliamentary Reform: so that, the assertion is false; not sophistical, but really a blunt falsehood; an impudent, barefaced falsehood: the people are satisfied that as long as they have nothing to say in the making of laws, their food, their drink, their raiment, all the fruits of their earnings will be taxed, as expressed in the words of my Motto, for the benefit of the few. The author of the Motto called it the *plunder* of the few. I make use of milder terms; but the people are still satisfied, are still convinced, that their only security against being half starved, and being clothed in rags, is that Reform in the Parliament, to obtain which your Member BURNETT declared that he was ready to *lay down his life!*

But, if we are to believe BROTHAM, the Government has been conducted in a manner, dur-

ing the last five years, to give such general satisfaction, and the nation has felt itself so well off during that time, that the people have not, any longer, been anxious about a Reform of the Parliament. Mark, Gentlemen, how false pretences sometimes trip themselves up. If the Government have been so well conducted, and so much for the good of the nation *during the last five years*, how unjust is it in Mr. Brougham *to find fault of the late Ministers!* It is notorious that *Canning* was not the ruler. Seven out of twelve, or, rather, seven out of eleven of his colleagues, and those filling all the great offices, quit the Ministry rather than serve under him. It is notorious that he was in a minority in the cabinet: it is notorious that the measures were not his: it is notorious that the measures for the last five years, be they what they might, were measures, in which he had only a share, and that, too, a small share. This being the case: this being undeniable, what

ground can Mr. Brougham have for wishing at all for a change of the Ministry: and, if the system which the Minister pursued gave such general satisfaction as to make the people cease to wish for a change of the system, and for a Reform of the Parliament, for what could he desire to see a change, except for the obtaining of an opening for himself?

The fact is, however, that the Government has, during the last five years, been conducted in just the same way that it always has been conducted since I or since any of you can remember. It could not have any Six Acts to pass; for they were already passed and they have all been kept in force to their utmost. It could not pass Power-of-Imprisonment Bills, unless in mere sport, for, it had laws already passed to prevent the people from meeting and to muzzle the press, and make the main mass of it completely subservient to those who had the governing power in their hands. It has, however, passed *some laws*;

it has done some things during that five years ; and these things ought, by no means, to be forgotten. It has hardened the laws with respect to the game. It has passed a *new trespass law*, which makes it dangerous for a man to set his foot off the turnpike road. It has empowered the magistrate to send the poor man to gaol and to hard labour upon a charge of trespass of even one penny damage ; and, it has protected the rich man from being thus dealt with, though he commit damage to the amount of scores of pounds. Nay, it has done this : it has enabled the magistrate, one single magistrate, to send a poor man to prison and to hard labour, under certain circumstances of non-payment of damages, if he walk but ten feet in a corn-field ; and, it has protected the rich man, in going through the same corn-field and beating down half the corn, with horses, dogs and followers, and subjected him to nothing but the ancient and usual slow process at law. During the last

five years, while the *softener of the criminal code*, who is now, it is said, to be in place ; during the last five years, while this softener has been at work to put an end to the laws against witchcraft, this excellent Government of ours ; this mild and well-behaved Government, which has given such "general satisfaction ;" or that has acted so satisfactorily, at least, to Mr. Brougham, Lord John Russell and Sir Francis Burdett, has brought in and passed a bill, *making it felony to take an apple off a tree!* and, thus, even though the felon may be pardoned, causing him to forfeit all his right to real property to the end of his life ! A mightily well-behaved Government, to be sure ; a singularly mild and tender-hearted Government ; a Government the conduct of which was, to be sure, famously calculated to make the people cease to wish for Reform. Not to go into other particulars, at present ; not to dwell upon a great variety of acts, every one of which proves the necessity of

a Reform of the Parliament; and every one of which have been passed at the instigation of the Ministers within the last five years, what will these converted coalscoers say to the tricks which have been played with the paper-money? Mr. Robinson, Mr. Huskisson, all were in place; when the Small-note Bill of 1822 was passed, except Canning himself, and he constantly supported and voted with the Government. All the late Ministry, including Canning himself, then, put forth the bales of paper in 1822; that produced the horrible ruin of 1825; that produced the Act of last year; proposed by Canning himself and accompanied with a vow that he would never recede from it; the Act of last year has produced the present steadily increasing ruin; and which ruin will finally produce the overthrow of Canning and of all his newly converted tribe, unless they be overthrown by some other thing, before that great cause comes into full operation. Look at the ruin of the

manufacturers; look at the ruin of the merchants. See the thousands and thousands of tradesmen breaking up in spite of all their incessant industry; think of the wide-spreading starvation of the people by thousands and hundreds of thousands, and look at the begging-box carried round by Royal authority; look at all these things, and see new royal and ministerial palaces rising up at the same time at most enormous expense; look at a sham bridge, costing from thirty to sixty thousand pounds; look at the whole thing, even as it is; look at the farmers, and hear their tales; behold the paupers swarming like the lice of Egypt, and thousands actually rotting upon rushes or straw reduced to smaller than chaff by the rub of their miserable carcasses; behold these things in England and all over England; hear it observed from the Court of King's Bench, that bread and water are the common food and drink of the labouring people in England,

See the wretched resorts of the "houseless;" read the description of them, even in this luxurious metropolis, packed so closely upon the floor that there is not room for the turning of the body: look at all these things, things which no man can deny; things notorious to the whole nation, and then think of the immeasurable, the ten-fold brazen audacity of the man who can assert, in the face of this same suffering and degraded people, this starving, this tread-mill country; who can assert, that, for the last four or five years, the conduct of Government has given such general satisfaction; and the nation has been so well off, that the people have not, any longer, been anxious about a Reform of the Parliament, and that, therefore, now he may support Mr. Canning, though he solemnly declares that he will oppose Reform to the last hour of his parliamentary life! Think of the brass of this man, and your rage will be so great, that you will seek for consolation in something

that shall give you ground for a hope that the triumph of his audacity will not be of great duration. Such consolation I have; and I wish that each of you should have it too; I shall, therefore, state it to you by and by; but, first of all, we must dispose of our own hero, our twenty years old reformer; that is to say, our champion pretended, for twenty years; our champion pretended, indeed, for thirty years; but our champion receiving reward, ample for even faithful services, if they had been such, during twenty years.

The reports of the debates in Parliament, exhibit BROUGHAM, LORD JOHN RUSSELL, BURDETT, and CANNING, making their declarations relative to Reform of Parliament. Mr. DAWSON had asked this strange coalition what they now meant to do relative to several subjects, and, amongst others, relative to the subject of Parliamentary Reform. It was difficult, indeed, to imagine how any of the coalescing Whigs, and particularly how Burdett could

shuffle out of this question. It was, with him, the all-in-all; the one thing needful; the *sine qua non*, and the evil, the want of Reform, he had called, over and over again, the *accursed thing* of the country; the sole cause of all its calamities, and the cause which, if not removed, must, in the end, and ought speedily, to produce the overthrow of every thing. How often (good God!) has he called to the people; how often has he invoked them to come forward in a mass, and to demand their rights in a manner not to be resisted: how often has he, and in terms the most vehement and most bitter, reproached the people, accused them of cowardice, accused them of degeneracy, accused them of being unworthy of his exertions in their favour, because they did not come forward simultaneously as one man, and imitate the example of those who had sent him into Parliament; and, now, we see him seated at the back of a man, who has not only always been the bitterest enemy of Reform; who

has not only been the very forwardest in support of every measure for keeping down Reform, by every means that could be suggested; who has not only vilified, calumniated and heaped the most infamous accusations and imputed the most infamous of motives to all Reformers, but who still declares, in the very teeth of this Sir Francis Burdett, that he, who is now Prime Minister, will oppose Reform, *under whatever shape it may appear*, to the last hour of his parliamentary life!

The sayings of these men, their declarations to which I have alluded, agreeably to the report in the *Morning Chronicle*, took place in the House of Commons on Friday, the 4th day of this month of May. These are memorable words. They will have to be repeated many times hereafter; and, as in the case of PROSPERITY ROBINSON'S speech of the month of February, 1824, I, foreseeing the many times that I shall have to refer to these words, insert them as I find them reported in

the above mentioned paper, under the above mentioned date. A time may come, and I am sure that a time will come, and that that time is not distant, when we shall have to call upon the three former of these men, at any rate, to answer to us, the people, for having uttered these words, or to deny (which, however, they must do without loss of time) that they ever did utter such words. They are neither of them the wisest of mankind; but, weak indeed must they be, if they expect that these memorable words will be suffered to sink into oblivion.

MR. BROUGHAM.

“ Now we come to the question of Parliamentary Reform, and it is quite unnecessary for me to remind the House that we, who formed the late Opposition, were as a body divided upon that question, many being at one time against Reform altogether, who had so far yielded, however, as to be for moderate Reform, which Major Cartwright and others called *mock* Reform, but which I certainly call by no such appellation; and several still objecting to any Parliamentary Reform. It is impossible to say, with any appearance

of reason or sound argument, that we as a body stood pledged in favour of that question, against which the Right Honourable Gentleman at the head of the Treasury, I am apprehensive, does stand pledged. That we, therefore, who have been so long divided among ourselves on that question, should on that ground, as a body, refuse to join an Administration whose principles and conduct we approved of in so many other particulars, would be perfect folly, and injurious to the favourable side of that very question: it would be injustice to ourselves, and dishonesty to our country. The great features of the late Administration, after the loss of the late Lord Londonderry, were marked by large views, and by a liberal and truly English feeling, more particularly in its foreign policy, and its conduct with regard to the rising States of South America [hear, hear!]; and on the most urgent questions respecting trade and manufactures under the conduct chiefly of the Right Honourable President of the Board of Control, the proceedings of that Administration were founded on liberal and enlightened views, and such as were fully approved in the main by the great body of the Opposition. These have been the three cardinal points of the Administration—the large features upon which they have acted ever since the Right Honourable Gentleman now at the head of the Treasury came into the Foreign Office.”

LORD JOHN RUSSELL

"Said, that as the subject of Parliamentary Reform had been introduced, and as that was a subject which he had taken considerable interest in, and to which he had on more than one occasion called the attention of Parliament, he wished to remind the House, that that was never a Parliamentary question of the Whigs as a party. It was a question on which there was a great diversity of opinion among those who advocated it, and to which the leaders of the Whigs were always unwilling to be pledged as to a party question. He (Lord John Russell) did not expect that it would be carried as a party question. He had often declared so, and had done so when last he brought the question forward, which, he stated, was brought forward for the last time. The reason which induced him to state that he had brought it forward then for the last time, was, because he observed a great lukewarmness throughout the country and in the House on the question, which lukewarmness was greatly owing to the conciliatory and satisfactory manner in which Government was latterly conducted, and which made him and his Honourable Friends suppose that, by supporting that portion of it which remained, they might contribute to the public service—if it had remained indeed, in the possession of the seceders—if the Government was under the controul of

the Honourable Member for Derry (Mr. Dawson), and the discontent and dissatisfaction that would prevail, he might expect the inevitable success of this measure; but, anxious as he was for its successful result, yet he owned he was not desirous to purchase it at such a cost as the return to office of himself and his associates in secession."

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

"One principal ground on which I give my support to the present Administration is, because it does practically and in effect uphold the King in the just exercise of his prerogative. That is my justification on that point. But I will tell the Right Honourable Gentleman further, that *putting aside all the great questions* which he is so singularly anxious to bring under discussion, *including among the rest that of Parliamentary Reform* [a laugh], I see sufficient reason to support this Administration. [Cheers.] The Right Honourable Gentleman seems never to have known that there was *a schism on the subject of Reform*. It is news to him that *there were ever shades of opinion upon it*. He was not aware, it appears, that there were *as many different views* of the general measure as there have always been of comprehensive political questions. Some are for confining it within narrow limits; others for extending it to the widest. I am ready to vote for *any measure* of Reform. By supporting the present Government, *I do not abandon or sa-*

crifice one iota of my principles as a friend of Parliamentary Reform, or any other question on which I may deem it fitting and prudent to deliver my sentiments. [Cheers.] As a man of common sense, I must wish to achieve some practical good in my time. If I cannot do all I would, I am bound, without waiting till, perhaps, more extensive views may be adopted, to promote all the good which the opportunity of the passing moment offers me. [Hear, hear!]—

* * * * *

"My Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Canning) has been accused, among other things of an overweening ambition," &c. &c.

MR. CANNING.

"I am asked what I mean to do on the subject of Parliamentary Reform? Why, I say—to oppose it—to oppose it to the end of my life in this House, under whatever shape it may appear."

Here are their declarations; and these declarations are to remain upon record, until the time come, when I do hope we shall have an opportunity of calling upon them for an answer to what may be fairly urged against these declarations. But, we are not going to wait, I hope, before we, by our conduct, give the lie to

those, who assert that we are lukewarm, who assert that we feel no interest any longer in the cause of Reform.

Of the silly shuffle contained in the two former of these reports of speeches, I shall say nothing; except that they prove the truth of what we have so often asserted, that the Whig reform was a miserable sham, and that even that sham would be abandoned, the moment the parties found that they could get into place. What does the veteran placeman TIERNEY, who is, they say, to have a snug birth in the new concern; what does he say to this question of Reform; he who signed the petition of Lord GREY, just thirty years ago in this very month of May, and he who has seen added to the national debt (including dead-weight and poor-rates) a thousand millions of money since that time; he who has seen the number of paupers augmented tenfold; he who has seen large parts of the people of Ireland shut up in their houses from sunset to sun-

rise ; he who has seen, since the time he signed that petition, more bankruptcies take place and more insolvencies than had taken place in three centuries before. He who has seen the labouring people of England reduced to an allowance of food and drink and raiment, smaller in quantity and worse in quality than that which is allowed to convicted felons in the gaols : what does the veteran Tierney say, in the way of reason for giving his support to a man who declares to his face that he will persevere in the present unreformed system to the last hour of his parliamentary life ? Does the veteran Tierney think that the right sort of system, think that the best sort of Parliament, which every year or two raises or lowers the value of money, and every year or two crushes one class or other of the community, and which has, even at this moment, no plan of restoration, no plan for producing a settled state of things, while things are going on from bad to worse, and while a convulsion, if not prevented by a Reform, is as sure to be the result as the end of the year is sure to arrive ? The veteran Tierney did, in 1793, look upon a Reform of the House of Commons as absolutely necessary to the salvation of the country ; but, a thousand millions having been added to the Debt by an unreformed Parliament, an enormous standing army in time of peace having been kept up by that unreformed Parliament, parsons having received military half-pay and being upheld in the receipt of it by that famously unreformed Parliament, that unreformed Parliament having passed *corn bills*, *transportation-for-poaching bills*, *new-trespass laws*, and having ordained *banishment for life* as the punishment of a man who shall, a second time, utter that which has a tendency to bring the unreformed Parliament into contempt ; the unreformed Parliament having swelled up the taxes from sixteen millions a-year to sixty millions a-year, and the people having been, in consequence,

plunged into crimes that have caused new gaols to rise up all over the country; yes, the unreformed Parliament having been found adequate to all these things, it would appear from the newspaper reports that the Right Honourable veteran has gone and placed himself at the back of a Prime Minister, who positively declares, that he will oppose, to the end of his parliamentary life, any Reform of the Parliament, *in whatever shape that Reform may appear!*

BURDETT, who has, doubtless, the same cogent reasons with the veteran Tierney, has, however, a rather tougher task to perform, in order to make people believe that he has not, by pledging himself to support Canning, abandoned one iota of his principles as a friend of Parliamentary Reform. He sets out by saying, that he will put aside that question, and that he then finds sufficient reasons for supporting Canning; but Canning will not *let him put it aside*; for, he gets up imme-

diately and says he will oppose Reform to the end of his political life, and, still Burdett sits at his back, and still he says he will support him. With these facts so plainly before our eyes, are we to be cheated by an observation that there was a *schism* on the subject of Reform; aye, a schism, sure enough, made by the Whigs, whom he denounced, a thousand times over, for hypocrisy and roguery in the making of that schism. He talks about shades of opinion, and Canning himself talked about this difference of opinion amongst Reformers, and the vile Whigs talked about this difference of opinion, and the base hypocrites made it an excuse for not supporting Reform! Burdett says, there were many different views as to the nature of the Reform; I can tell him that there will be not many different views as to his conduct upon the present occasion; and, when the people of Westminster shall have a fair meeting, as I trust they will have **NEXT MONDAY**

IN COVENT-GARDEN, AT TWELVE O'CLOCK, he will find them perfectly unanimous; he will find no differences of opinion as to his junction with, or, rather, his truckling to, the jester, Canning, who set the House in a roar upon the subject of the bowels of poor Ogden.

But, Gentlemen, do, I pray you, look at the impudence of this assertion. The words form the greatest insult that ever was offered to any people upon the face of the earth. The people of England in general, and the people of Westminster in particular, have now received from this vain and haughty aristocrat, a greater insult than I recollect ever having seen offered to any body before. Here stands up a Prime Minister and says, I will oppose Parliamentary Reform to the end of my political life: *there shall be no Parliamentary Reform, as long as I shall be Minister*: and, Burdett, standing close at this man's back, says, within a few minutes of the same time, I will support this Minister:

that is to say, I will support an opposition to Reform as long as this man remains Minister; and, yet, *I do not sacrifice one iota of my principles as a friend of Reform!* Upon my soul, Gentlemen, I believe him, if he mean his real principles; for, from the bottom of my heart, I believe he was always the secret enemy of Reform. If he had said, I do not sacrifice one iota of my *pretended* principles, I should have said, that the declaration argued a sense of past hypocrisy and a determination to be open and fair with us for the future. As the words now stand, they are a piece of base, ungratuitous insolence. If he had said, I must wish to achieve some practical good in my time; that is to say, *good to myself*; to pick up a peerage, or so, "as a man of common sense, when the opportunity is offered by the passing moment;" but, to declare that he will support the man, the Prime Minister, who, at the same moment, tells him to his teeth that he will oppose Reform to the end of his

life in that House, and still to call himself a friend of Reform, is a piece of insolence that could have proceeded from no man who had not been flattered for twenty years by a set of corrupt wretches who made a trade of crying him up for their own emolument. His new master has left him no excuse; he has left him no hole to creep out of, no pretences about shades of opinion and difference in views; for, he has told him that he will oppose Reform *under whatever shape it may appear*, and Burdett has pledged himself to support this man, and, of course, to support this opposition to the end of this man's life, if he himself live so long.

Nothing more need be said upon the subject, with a view of exposing the conduct of the man, who pledged himself to support the cause of Reform to the end of his life; who pledged himself to lay down his life if necessary, to ensure the success of that cause. It is curious enough, that Mr. Brougham says, that, if Dawson

and his friends had remained in power, the Reformers might have been encouraged to proceed; but that, now, they will have no encouragement to do so. A pretty assertion, this, and clearly showing that that intriguing lawyer and all his brother coalescers reckon without their host. However, what we have now to consider, is, *what is our duty in this crisis of affairs*. Our duty clearly is, to meet when and where we legally can: there is no obstacle to our meeting now. Seven house-holders are to call a Meeting, when and where they like, upon giving the neighbouring Magistrate notice of their intention. It is very true, that all this stuff will be blown into air, at no very distant day, by troubles, by turmoils, that will shake these jobbers out of their senses; but, we ought to be *ready*; we ought to be perfectly ready to avail ourselves of the advantages that events will offer us, for the purpose of securing that Reform of the House of Commons, without which we must become a herd

of the most beggarly slaves that ever crept about under the sun. I am happy to perceive that a meeting is to be held at Covent-Garden at 12 o'clock on Monday next. At that meeting I shall be; and I understand that *it is the intention of Mr. HUNT to be there also*. The precise object of the meeting I do not at present know. Whatever it may be, the meeting affords an opportunity for an appeal to the insulted and ill-treated people upon the subject of their ill-treatment and of the conduct of those who have insulted them. I here insert a notification which appeared in the *Morning Herald* of Tuesday last; and, as I detest roundabout ways, I will state precisely how that notification was produced. I spoke to a gentleman on Sunday last, to request Mr. Hunt, if he had the same views upon the subject that I had, to meet me the next day to deliberate on the means of co-operation in defence of the cause of Reform. The gentleman went suddenly out of town on Monday

morning. Finding him gone, I wrote to Mr. Hunt much about what I had expressed to the gentleman verbally, and requested him to meet me that day, if he chose to co-operate with me for such purpose. The consequence of my letter was that a meeting took place, and that, in about ten minutes afterwards, the following notification was sent to be published in the *Morning Herald* Newspaper.

Purity of Election — Parliamentary Reform.

The Anniversary Dinner-Meeting will, of course, be held, at the Crown and Anchor, in the Strand, on the 23d of this month of May, to celebrate the event, to which the above title alludes; and we think it right, think it a duty that we owe to our country, to notify, that we intend to be present at that Dinner, in the hope of obtaining an explanation of circumstances, which, in our opinion, indicate, in certain quarters, not only a disposition, but a settled design, to betray the cause of the people, and to barter the remnant of their liberties for the gratification of the vanity, or pecuniary interest, of those, who have here-

tofore professed themselves to be the most zealous defenders of those rights.

WM. COBBETT.
H. HUNT.

London, 7th May, 1827.

Since this notification was written, I have seen advertised in the newspapers, a meeting to take place, in the open air, in Covent-garden, on Monday next, the 14th instant. To that meeting, as I said before, I shall go, and I understand that Mr. Hunt will be there also. The people of Westminster may, by possibility, have become so abominably base as to like to be bartered, like bullocks in Smithfield ; but, at any rate, they shall not be bartered without my doing my utmost to make them understand the nature of the transaction. I have, however, supposed this merely for argument's sake. I know they have been deceived, I know they have been cheated, I know they have been muzzled, I know they have been made miserable tools of by a selfish and rascally Rump-committee ; but I know that they are not corrupted ; I know that,

when they perceive the treason that has been committed against them, they will repel the traitors with indignation ; and, I do really believe that this treachery, intended to ruin their liberties for ever ; intended to make them slaves, infinitely more base than those of Maryland or Virginia ; I do believe that this treachery, which aimed at the utter extirpation of all hope of Reform, will be the cause of the triumph of Reform and of the destruction of the traitors.

As to the dinner, the "twentieth anniversary of the purity of election dinner ; if the stewards, as they call themselves ; if the promoters of the dinner, suffer it to pass without calling to account the great hero of the feast, they must and will be stigmatized as the basest wretches upon earth. Twenty successive years has this dinner been held to celebrate the triumph of Westminster in having secured the election of a member in spite of the aristocracy. For twenty successive years that mem-

ber has, in that same dinner room, solemnly declared his immovable attachment to the cause of Reform, and has, with equal solemnity, assured the parties present, that no good whatever could ever be effected for the country without such Reform; that every thing else was idle and farcical; that the Whig pretence about economy and retrenchment was a hypocritical shuffle; for twenty successive years has he thus been vowing and declaring upon this identical spot; and he now comes to the same spot under the title of "Triumph of Westminster, Purity of Election," having just declared, in that seat into which the "Triumph of Westminster" put him; after having just declared from that very seat, that he who was, that he who continues to be, the bitter and abusive enemy of Reform, is now "*his right honourable friend*," and after having declared that he will give his support to that enemy of Reform, though that enemy says he will continue to be its enemy to the end of his life! If, therefore, this man can go into that dinner-room, and come out of it without the censure that he merits, the company assembled there will be so base, so entirely worthless and infamous; so rotten, so corrupt and so degraded, that

they will deserve, not to be treated like fallen men, but to be trodden into dirt and dung, like the spawn of those filthy reptiles from which the eye is turned and the touch recoils.

But, this event will not happen. Englishmen are not so degraded, yet. Fellows with age and skill in the art of packing, and well supplied with money, may do much; but I do not believe that they have the power; I do not believe that they could bribe enough of even poor starving creatures in Westminster to bear down the indignant and independent men who will be present at the Crown-and-Anchor on that day. I beg leave to press it upon the real and earnest friends of Reform, and, particularly, upon those who have some *leisure*, to consider, that they have a very sacred duty to perform upon this occasion. Nothing is so clear, as that the people are intended to be sacrificed by both the factions; that the liberties and all the interests of the people are to be the price of the several splittings and jostlings and shufflings and choppings and changings that have been and that are, now, going on. If the people gain no relief now; if the present scheme of sacrificing them succeed, almost every man in the middle rank of life must

and will become something very near to that of a pauper. The system is now stripping the laborious tradesmen, who always hitherto escaped. There is no remedy short of a Reform of the Parliament. We have no defence but in such Reform; and this is now become so evident; it is become so evident that we must be beggared by the tax-eaters of various descriptions; by these eternal half-pay parsons and others who feed upon our vitals; this is so evident, that now it is seen by the dullest of eyes. All men see it; and, I trust, that many will now have the courage to come forward and do their best to save themselves and their children from that degradation which, without a Reform, is, assuredly, their lot.

I think that, upon this occasion, many gentlemen in the country ought to come to London; ought to be at the first of the meetings which will now take place. If they will not stir hand or foot, it is in vain to use their eyes in reading and their tongues in chatting by their own fire-sides. It is out in public meeting that they are wanted. I trust that they will not be wanted, but will come forth; that they will show Mr. Brougham that they have not cooled upon the subject of

Reform; and, they may be assured, that, as far as I am concerned; as far as my capacity goes; as far as my limbs will carry me, and my voice can be heard, nothing shall be neglected to counteract the schemes and defeat the projects of the treacherous, base, malignant and cowardly enemies of the cause of Reform.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. I perceive that Mr. Hume has given notice that he intends to bring in a Bill to repeal one of the Six Acts; and nothing has given me more pleasure for a long time. This is one of those famous Acts, passed in Canning's so loudly extolled "short month of legislation," which followed close upon the 16th of August, *thanks to the Manchester Magistrates, and the Oldham Inquest*; and the particular Act which Mr. Hume's notice relates to, is that which had been conjured up by Canning, Mackintosh and others, who are coalesced, to make it law to *transport a man on the second conviction of writings having a tendency to bring either House into contempt*.—I repeat, that I rejoice to see this notice of Mr. Hume, and I am sure that he can do nothing for which he will better deserve the thanks of the country.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending April 27.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat ..	56	2	Rye	40	9
Barley ..	39	5	Beans ...	47	0
Oats	30	6	Pease ...	45	0

Total Quantity of Corn returned as Sold in the Maritime Districts, for the week ended April 27.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	35,634	Rye	252
Barley ..	11,686	Beans . . .	1,588
Oats ...	11,650	Pease	292

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, April 28.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat..	4,489 for 13,304	18	7	Average..	59	3	
Barley..	2,222 ..	4,561	10	5.....	41	0	
Oats..	3,900 ..	6,448	4	6.....	33	11	
Rye....	2 ..	3	13	8.....	36	10	
Beans..	419 ..	933	10	7.....	44	6	
Pease..	90 ..	205	3	0.....	45	7	

Friday, May 4.—The supplies of Grain and Flour this week are moderate. The Wheat trade remains the same as stated on Monday last. Barley, Beans, and Pease fully maintain their late quotations. There is not much doing in the Oat trade today, and prices remain as last re-

ported. There is a fair demand for fresh made Flour.

Monday, May 7.—The arrivals of the past week were moderate of most kinds of Grain, and this morning the fresh supplies are small. Wheat of prime quality continues scarce, and has obtained a further advance of 1s. per qr. on the terms of this day se'n-night, and other descriptions meet a more ready sale than of late.

The Maltsters having nearly done working, the best parcels of Barley sell heavy at last quotations; Grinding samples sell freely, and are rather dearer. Beans of good quality are again 1s. per quarter higher, as there are so few at market. Pease of both kinds remain the same as last quoted, with little doing. In good sweet Oats there has been a fair demand to-day, at full as good prices as last Monday, but other kinds have not met with buyers readily. There is a good trade for fresh made Flour, but the prices are unaltered.

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. Loaf is stated at 9d. by the full-priced Bakers.

COAL MARKET, May 4.

Ships at Market. Ships sold. Price.

32½ Newcastle 15½..31s. 0d. to 37s. 9d.
10½ Sunderland 8½..33s. 9d.—38s. 9d.

Account of Wheat, &c. arrived in the Port of London, from April 30 to May 5, both inclusive.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	5,557	Tares	302
Barley ..	2,404	Linseed ..	92
Malt	6,989	Rapeseed .	—
Oats	3,171	Brank ..	18
Beans ...	433	Mustard ..	—
Flour	6,419	Flax	—
Rye	—	Illemp	35
Pease	257	Seeds ...	—

Foreign.—Wheat, 1,175; Barley, 4,290; Oats, 11,868; Beans, 5,860 quarters.

Monday, May 7.—The arrivals from Ireland last week were, 620 firkins of Butter, and 1,792 bales of Bacon; and from Foreign Ports, 4,062 casks of Butter.

HOPS.

Price of Hops, per Cwt. in the Borough.

Monday, May 7.—The accounts from Kent and Sussex state flea as general, and have done some damage to the bines, which at present come up weak and nettley; prices, however, are not improved. Currency: Sussex, 80s. to 95s.; Kent, 84s. to 112s. Duty 115,000*l*.

Maidstone, May 3.—The warm weather and showers this last week, have much improved the Hops, and the Bines, which from the flea and frost were looking very unkindly, are resuming their colour and doing well. In the trade nothing doing.

Worcester, May 2.—On Saturday, 166 pockets of Hops were weighed: there was more demand, and an advance in price; the average being 96s. to 100s., and fine 105s. Neither the Merchants nor Planters are large holders. The accounts from the Plantation state that the flea increases.

SMITHFIELD.

Monday, May 7.—The Beef Trade was heavy on Friday, but the best Beasts made about as much as this day se'nnight. Mutton was in fair demand, and looking upwards. Lamb sold freely at steady prices.—To-day there is a brisk trade, and higher prices given for every thing but lamb, which remains at 6s. to 7s. per stone. We quote Beef no higher than 5s. 2*d*. for the general trade; but some choice things have made more money. The best polled Sheep, shorn, have freely obtained 5s. 4*d*.; and Downs in the Wool, 6s. per stone. In the dead market, on Saturday, fore quarters of Mutton were sold at 5s., and whole carcasses at 5s. 4*d*.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	4	4	to	5 2
Mutton . . .	5	0	—	6 0
Veal	5	0	—	6 0
Pork	4	4	—	5 6
Lamb	6	0	—	7 0
Beasts . . .	2,035		Sheep . .	15,600
Calves . . .	130		Pigs . . .	160

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	8	to	4 8
Mutton . . .	4	0	—	5 4
Veal	3	8	—	5 8
Pork	3	8	—	5 8
Lamb	4	8	—	6 8

LEADENHALL, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	10	to	4 6
Mutton . . .	3	8	—	5 2
Veal	3	10	—	5 4
Pork	4	0	—	5 4
Lamb	3	8	—	6 8

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS, per Ton.					
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>
Ox-Nobles.....	3	15	to	0	0
Middlings.....	2	10	—	0	0
Chats.....	2	0	—	0	0
Common Red..	4	0	—	0	0
Onions, 0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.					

BOROUGH, per Ton.					
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>
Ox-Nobles....	3	10	to	4	0
Middlings.....	2	10	—	0	0
Chats.....	1	15	—	2	0
Common Red..	3	10	—	0	0

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—		Hay....	90s. to 120s.
		Straw....	38s. to 42s.
		Clover.	100s. to 140s.
St. James's.—		Hay....	80s. to 132s.
		Straw ..	36s. to 49s.
		Clover.	120s. to 140s.
Whitechapel.—		Hay....	84s. to 115s.
		Straw....	38s. to 42s.
		Clover..	90s. to 135s.

**AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN, sold in the Maritime Counties of
England and Wales, for the Week ended April 27, 1827.**

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
London*.....	58	10	40	10	33	0
Essex	58	2	38	3	31	0
Kent.....	55	6	39	10	30	6
Sussex.....	54	9	0	0	30	8
Suffolk	55	2	37	6	32	1
Cambridgeshire.....	53	9	37	0	27	7
Norfolk	55	0	36	6	30	6
Lincolnshire	55	0	40	9	27	0
Yorkshire	54	10	41	8	27	6
Durham	55	8	42	3	38	8
Northumberland	54	0	39	0	32	5
Cumberland	61	3	40	4	34	2
Westmoreland	61	10	43	8	38	3
Lancashire	61	8	43	6	35	1
Cheshire	60	10	0	0	0	0
Gloucestershire.....	56	8	43	1	37	1
Somersetshire	54	1	42	1	31	8
Monmouthshire.....	59	8	45	0	0	0
Devonshire.....	56	4	38	10	29	2
Cornwall.....	61	2	40	0	37	3
Dorsetshire	53	8	39	8	37	9
Hampshire	55	7	40	8	30	1
North Wales	64	10	45	2	35	0
South Wales	58	5	45	4	28	1

* The London Average is always that of the Week preceding.

Bristol, May 5.—The sales of Corn, &c. in our Corn markets, appear more brisk than they have been, and more business is doing. The prices at present are about as below quoted.—Wheat, from 6s. to 7s. 6d.; Barley, 4s. 3d. to 6s. 3d.; Beans, 6s. 3d. to 8s.; Oats, 3s. 2d. to 4s. 3d.; and Malt, 5s. 6d. to 8s. 3d. per bushel, imperial. Flour, Seconds, 32s. to 43s. per bag.

Horncastle, May 5.—There has been so little alteration in our Corn markets for the last two or three weeks, that it is not worth notice.—Wheat, 54s. to 56s.; Barley, 40s. to 43s.; Oats, 30s. to 35s.; Beans, 60s. to 64s.; and Rye from 40s. to 45s. per quarter.

Ipswich, May 5.—We had to-day a small supply of Corn at market. The sale was dull at about last week's prices, as follow:—Wheat, 54s. to 62s.; Barley, 36s. to 41s.; and Beans, 47s. to 49s. per quarter.

Malton, May 5.—Our market for Grain continues in the same dull state it has been for some weeks past. Prices rather lower. Wheat, 58s. to 62s. per quarter for 40 stone; Barley, 44s. to 45s. per quarter. Oats 15d. to 17d. per stone.

Manchester, May 5.—During the week, and at our market to-day, there has been a better demand for most articles in the trade. The holders of fine wheat demanded an advance of 2d. per bushel of 70 lbs., which was, in a few instances, complied with. Oats may be quoted 3d. to 1d. per 45 lbs. lower, with very little doing in them. Beans were in request at last week's rates. Flour is rather improved in value as well as demand. In Barley, Pease, and Malt, no alteration.

Newcastle-on-Tyne, May 5.—The supply of Wheat from the farmers was again large this morning, and having some small arrivals coastwise, the millers were enabled to supply themselves at a trifle above the prices of last week. Rye continues in demand. Barley sells at the same prices as last week, but the demand is very limited. The farmers' supply of Oats sold very slowly at a decline of 1s. per quarter, but foreign Oats in bond are dearer.

Norwich, May 5.—We had only a small supply of all Grain to-day, and the demand being brisk, Red Wheat sold at 52s. to 59s.; White, to 61s.; Barley, 30s. to 40s.; Oats, 28s. to 32s.; Beans, 43s. to 48s.; Pease, 44s. to 48s.; Boilers, to 52s. per quarter; and Flour, 41s. to 42s. per sack.

Reading, May 5.—We had a short supply of Wheat, which met a ready sale on much the same terms as last week, viz. 55s. to 68s. per quarter, by the Imperial measure. The quantity of Barley was less than for the last twelve months; it sold at the same prices as this day se'nnight. Oats were also a short supply, and maintained their value. So little was done in Beans or Pease, that prices of both articles must be stated nominally as last week.

Wakefield, May 4.—There is a good supply of Wheat fresh up to-day; the factors generally, at the commencement of the market, asked higher prices, but the buyers were unwilling to comply, and the business done has been at last Friday's prices. Oats and Shelling are dull sale, and rather lower. Although the supply of Barley is very small, the sale has been dull to-day, at the rates of last week for the best samples; and the middling sorts are rather lower. Beans are in better demand, and 1s. per quarter dearer. Rapeseed is as dull as possible.

Wisbeach, May 5.—Wheat and Beans sold to-day for full as much money as last week. Oats were about 1s. lower.

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Horncastle, May 5.—Beef, 9s. per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton, 8d.; Lamb, 10d.; Pork, 7d.; and Veal, from 8d. to 9d. per lb.

Manchester Smithfield Market, May 2.—We had a short supply of Beef and Mutton to this day's market. Last week's prices were barely maintained.—Beef, 5d. to 8d.; Mutton, 7d. to 8½d.; Lamb, 9½d. to 11d.; Veal, 5½d. to 7d.; and Pork, 4½d. to 6d. per lb., sinking offal.

Norwich Castle Meadow, May 5.—The supply of fat Cattle to this day's market, was exceedingly large, and the demand not corresponding with it, prices were a little lower than last week; 7s. 6d. to 8s. 3d. per stone of 14 lbs., sinking offal; Store Stock was supplied also in great abundance; Scots sold at 4s. to 4s. 6d. per stone of what they will weigh when fat; Shorthorns, 3s. to 3s. 9d. Pigs fewer in number; fat ones to 7s. 6d. per stone.—Meat: Beef, 7d. to 9d.; Veal, 6d. to 8d.; Mutton, 6d. to 7½d.; Lamb, 9d.; and Pork, 6d. to 8d. per lb.

At *Morpeth Market*, May 2d, there were a good many Cattle; being a great demand, fat sold readily at last week's prices. There was a full market of Sheep, which met with dull sale; prices rather lower, and part not sold.—Beef, from 7s. 3d. to 8s.; Mutton, 9s. 6d. to 10s. 6d. per stone, sinking offal.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

VOL. 62.—No. 8.] LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 19, 1827. [Price 6d.



"Gentlemen,—After what has lately passed in review before us, it is impossible to shut our eyes to the actual situation of our country. Lord Melville, with his associates and abettors, under the pretence of *loyalty*; and the leaders of the Whigs under the pretence of *the Constitution*; and the LEADERS OF THE CATHOLICS, UNDER THE PRETENCE OF RELIGION, are ALL evidently struggling for one and the same object;—A SHARE OF THE COMMON SPOIL. Whilst the wholesome power of the Crown, the fair liberty of the subject, and the real interest of any religion are all sacrificed to the common object—*Plunder*. Of the rights of the people at large and of their welfare and independence, not a syllable is even whispered by any of these factions: and any attempt by others to bring the people or their interests into consideration, is stigmatised as treason."—SIR FRANCIS BURDETT'S ADDRESS TO THE FREEHOLDERS OF MIDDLESEX, APRIL 28, 1807.

"Gentlemen, that MR. CANNING (I mention him as the CHAMPION of the party, a part for the whole) should defend, to the utmost, a system, by the HOCUS-POCUS TRICKS of which *he and his family get so much public money*, can cause neither in me nor any man suspicion or anger;

"For 'tis their duty, all the learned think,

"I espouse the cause by which *they eat and drink*."

"The ox knoweth his owner and the ass his MASTER'S CRIB; and these gentry, at least, equal the ox and the ass in knowledge and virtue; and are, moreover, superior to the Jews; for they do know their *Maker*. I will, however, boldly adduce their example as proof undeniable of the benefits the people would derive from appointing their own Representatives; seeing that these gentlemen are ever true to their and their patrons' interests. This identity of interest keeps all smooth, and the people may rest assured, that the same cause will ever produce the same effect; and that, whenever the people shall have the appointment of their own House of Commons, the public expenditure will be controlled, the public burdens diminished, the public money applied to public purposes, and the public happiness and prosperity, in other

"words, *liberty and property*, secured, and NOT TILL THEN."—SIR FRANCIS BURDETT'S LETTER TO THE REFORM-MEETING AT THE CROWN AND ANCHOR, 4TH APRIL, 1821.

"I would fain hope, that the example given by the people of Westminster, might encourage other places still to contend for that small portion of Independence which yet remains in the country; and thereby keep alive, at least in the remembrance of their countrymen, their ancient constitutional right to a full, fair, and free representation of the people in Parliament, their only quiet and peaceable security, at all times, for their rights and property, against the despotism and plunder of the few. For these purposes you shall always find me, either in or out of Parliament, READY TO LAY DOWN MY LIFE."—SIR FRANCIS BURDETT'S LETTER TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER, 16TH OCTOBER, 1812.

"I am asked what I mean to do on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. Why, I say,—to oppose it—TO OPPOSE IT TO THE END OF MY LIFE IN THIS HOUSE, UNDER WHATEVER SHAPE IT MAY APPEAR."—MR. CANNING'S SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 4TH MAY, 1827.

"Putting aside all the great questions, including that of Parliamentary Reform, I see sufficient reason to support the Administration of my Right Honourable Friend [Mr. Canning.]"—SIR FRANCIS BURDETT'S SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 4TH MAY, 1827.

"I am accused by some persons as a man who am changing my principles. None of us knows what we may be changed to at last, and, I may become an oyster for any thing that I know to the contrary; but this I will say, that no one can truly assert that I am not a CONSISTENT POLITICIAN!"—SIR FRANCIS BURDETT'S SPEECH, AT THE "PURITY OF ELECTION" DINNER, AT THE CROWN AND ANCHOR, ON THE 23D MAY, 1818.

TO THE

ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

Fleet Street, 17th May, 1827.

GENTLEMEN,

Now is the time for you to prove, in every way that you have the power, that you are no longer to be silenced, to be muzzled, to be moulded into things

like the inhabitants of a rotten borough, by a despicable Rump Committee, who are the notorious tools of a man of immense wealth, who knows very well how to husband that wealth, how to take care of the pounds and shillings,

and how to bestow the odd pence and farthings in a judicious and profitable manner; how to grease the chins and fill with swill the tools of his ambition.

The Meeting which took place in your City, on last Monday, and which brought forth an Address from you to the King, unanimously passed, and which Address I shall presently insert, was attended with circumstances such as can leave no doubt in the mind of any rational man, that it was intended to prevent you from having any Meeting at all; and, as little doubt can remain in the mind of any such man, that the object of this interruption was to save BURDETT and HOBHOUSE, and particularly the former, to shelter him from the consequences of meeting you face to face, and there having his conduct fairly tried.

Pray, Gentlemen, attend to these circumstances: a hundred and ten house-holders of Westminster, each putting his name at full length and his place of abode

at full length, apply to the High Bailiff in writing, and send him a requisition, thus signed, requesting him to call a Meeting in the city, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of *addressing the King*. This was the sole object stated in the requisition. The intention of the parties sending the requisition was to express approbation of the conduct of his Majesty in having exercised his prerogative, in spite of what the parties believed to have been an attempt unduly to interfere with the exercise of that prerogative. This was the intention of the parties; but, in their requisition to the High Bailiff, they simply stated their wish that he would afford the electors of Westminster an opportunity of *addressing the King*.

Was there ever any thing, Gentlemen, less calculated to excite the suspicions of a public officer of any improper motive in the parties requesting? Was there ever any thing less calculated to produce objection in such officer

to call a public Meeting? Was there ever any thing better calculated to produce in any such officer alacrity in accommodating the requesting parties? Yet, the High Bailiff of Westminster (MORRIS, I think his name is), in a very laconic answer, and without assigning any reason whatever, *refused to call the Meeting*; though, he had *never, upon any occasion, refused to accede to a requisition presented to him by Burdett's rump committee.*

Another circumstance is, that the gentlemen who sent the requisition, wrote, at the same time, to BURDETT and HOBHOUSE, requesting them to attend the Meeting of their Constituents; and, it had been their uniform practice to attend all such Meetings in Westminster. From these two worthies, however, the gentlemen obtained **NO ANSWER AT ALL**, and, thus situated, some gentlemen who had taken a lead in the business, called a meeting themselves, as they had a right to do, appointing, as the place of the

Meeting, the pavement (not the causeway) in Covent-garden, opposite the east front of St. Paul's church. When the hour of meeting arrived, Mr. HUNT, myself and several others, who had had no previous communication whatsoever with the parties calling the Meeting, went to the spot, where a hustings had been erected under the superintendence, and at the expense of a Committee of the Requisitionists. When we arrived, there were persons at work, under the direction of Mr. Lee, the High Constable of Westminster, who was assisted by a great number of his constables, demolishing these hustings, and that, too, in a manner the most violent.

In this object they, at last, succeeded, to the great peril of one of the gentlemen of the Committee. The hustings having been demolished, Mr. Hunt sent for a van, into which some gentlemen of the Committee, Mr. Hunt himself, I and others, got, and drove to the spot where

the hustings had stood, and where there was an immense concourse of persons assembled. A like interruption was now given to the van, by a person calling himself a *surveyor or commissioner of pavements*; who insisted that he had a right, under the Paving Act, to prevent the van from standing on that spot or on any other spot in the parish of St. Paul, asserting that its standing there was an *obstruction to travellers on the king's highway*. You will observe, that it was *not a market-day*; you will observe, also, that it was *not a street*, along which carriages of any sort pass frequently, except on a market-day; you will observe, in short, that it was a spot where no nuisance could possibly be committed by the standing of either the van or the hustings; and, therefore, taking into view the refusal on the part of the High-Bailiff; bearing in mind that he never refused to call a meeting at the suggestion of Burdett's rump Committee; and, adding to all

these circumstances, the further circumstance that BURDETT and HOBHOUSE gave no answer of any sort to the application of so large a number of their constituents; taking all these circumstances into view, it is quite unnecessary for me to point out to you what persons were the real source of this attempt totally to prevent a meeting of the people of Westminster upon this occasion.

It could not, you may say, or some persons, at least, might say; it could not possibly be BURDETT who was the cause of preventing a meeting of his constituents to *congratulate the king* on a transaction of which he had expressed his approbation in Parliament; it surely could not be Burdett that wished to prevent his constituents from applauding the king for having shown his firmness in a way to get rid of his late ministers? Why, I will tell you, now, Gentlemen: Burdett would have had no objection in the world to come and join his constituents in congratulating the king on his firm-

ness in getting rid of his late ministers; but, Burdett was by no means sure that his constituents would *stop there*; he was by no means sure that his constituents would approve of the *new Minister*, who was the notorious, the persevering, the insulting, the implacable enemy of that reform of Parliament, which this Burdett had a thousand times over declared to those constituents was the only measure from which they could possibly derive either security to their property, peace to their homes, or safety to their lives. He was by no means sure that his constituents would not see somebody come face to face before him, accuse him of abandonment of all his principles and all his pledges; prove to his teeth that he had, now, put aside the cause of Reform; that he had now pledged himself to support an opposition to Reform, during the political life of Mr. CANNING; that he had called this bitterest of all the enemies of Reform his *Right Honourable Friend*, though the

other, while BURDETT was sitting with his knees in his back, declared that "*he would oppose Reform to the end of his political life, in whatever shape it might appear*"! This would have been a pretty good dose for him to swallow; he must have had a face of brass and a throat of iron to get down even *this* dose. But, he would have further had proved to his teeth that his present miserable pretence about Catholic Emancipation was upon a level with the rest of his conduct; and of that you may now well satisfy yourselves, if you will read the mottoes to this paper and also the extracts from the several speeches and letters which I shall insert at the end of this letter to you. Burdett was aware of all this: BURDETT knew that he had represented the leaders of the Catholics as being, like the leaders of the Whigs, *in search of a share of the spoil*; he was well aware that he had distinctly stated in the House of Commons, over and over again, that the *Catholic Question* was a

faras; and that he would be reminded that he had, in the most serious and elaborate manner, declared, and that, too, in the House itself, that it was monstrous, that it was contemptible beyond description to believe, or affect to believe, that any part of his Majesty's dominions, and **PARTICULARLY IRELAND**, could have a chance of being made better off without the adoption of that great measure, Parliamentary Reform.

Well was Burdett aware of all these things; and, though I have no evidence to prove that it was he who wished to prevent the meeting from taking place; though, perhaps, hardly a man of you have any such evidence to produce; yet, I am fully persuaded that there is hardly a man of you who will not be convinced, as I am, that he was the real source, the real cause of all those obstructions which were intended to prevent a Public Meeting in Westminster from taking place.

That Meeting did, however,

take place. We, in the van, moved off round by the north-side of Covent-garden, and went down through Catherine-street to a pretty wide and rather quiet place between the street of the Strand and the northern commencement of the Strand-bridge. There the proceedings were commenced by a Mr. PITTS, who proposed and read to the Meeting an Address to his Majesty, expressing approbation of his Majesty's conduct in having exercised his authority in choosing a Prime Minister, and also expressing approbation of *the known principles of that Minister*. This would have suited Daddy Burdett excellently well! If he could have been present, when an Address like this were carried, *he would have been worth a great deal more to Canning than he would be worth without it*. But, alas! he was too cunning to venture upon an attempt like this to add to his value. He knew his honest constituents too well to believe that such an Address would be tolerated by them: he knew

that no Meeting of the Electors of Westminster, in *open air*, would ever agree to an approbation of the principles of a man, who had just declared that he would oppose Parliamentary Reform to the end of his political life. In a *packed assembly* of persons, called the Electors of Westminster; in a room, lined by the rump; at a dinner where the price would operate as an exclusion, even to the middle rank of life; in a room guarded by a set of fellows called stewards, appointed by his rump or himself; in such a place, he might be able to get such an Address carried; but, then, an Address so carried, would rather *lessen than add to his value* in the eyes of CANNING. When Mr. PITTS had concluded, and his Address had been seconded by Mr. HUNT, who, you will please to observe, seconded it merely because there appeared no body else to do it: merely because the Meeting should have an opportunity of expressing their opinion upon it; Mr. Hunt, at the end of

a speech of considerable length, proposed and read to the Meeting the following Address.

“ TO HIS MAJESTY, GEORGE
“ THE FOURTH.

“ The dutiful and humble Address of a large number of his Majesty’s subjects, assembled first in the parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, and next in the parish of St. Clement Danes, in the city of Westminster, on Monday, the 14th day of May, 1827.

“ May it please your Majesty, —We, your Majesty’s dutiful subjects, think ourselves called upon, by the sentiments of loyalty and attachment which we bear to your Majesty, to congratulate your Majesty on your firmness in having exercised your undoubted prerogative, in choosing your Prime Minister, in defiance of what did appear, and what still appears, to us, to have been an attempt, on the part of certain persons, to dictate to your Majesty in the making of that choice.

“ But, may it please your Majesty, while we thus congratulate your Majesty, while we are thus mindful of the royal rights of your Majesty, we, not un-

"mindful of our own undoubted rights, and of that which is necessary to preserve or to restore them, should be wanting in justice to ourselves, and in fidelity to your Majesty, were we to refrain from expressing our deep regret, that the person on whom the choice of your Majesty has fallen, should have already declared his decided and never-ceasing hostility to that great measure, Parliamentary Reform, which we deem absolutely necessary to our restoration to real freedom and happiness; and, not more necessary to these, than to the permanent greatness of the nation, and to the dignity and security of your Majesty's Throne."

I seconded this Address, after having stated my reasons for so doing. The Address speaks for itself; and the country will by no means be surprised to learn that it was carried, without one single dissenting voice; and that not one single hand was held up, or one single *yea* pronounced, for the Address in which approbation had been expressed of the principles of Canning. Oh, Burdett!

oh, great Daddy of Westminster! oh, "Westminster's Pride and England's Glory!" if you could but have found leisure to be present upon that occasion, how your ears would have tingled at the feelings of indignation which were expressed by your honest constituents; at their looks of disdain, at their ejaculations of contempt, every time that your recent conduct was either mentioned or alluded to! Thousands of the persons present seized opportunities of expressing their abhorrence at that conduct, and the common jest of the day was, how clever you had shown yourself, how sound and excellent your judgment, in taking care not to be present at this Meeting.

The extracts, which I have prepared for insertion in the latter part of this Register, make it necessary for me to postpone further remarks, with regard to this Meeting, to another occasion; though, I must add, while I think of it, that I, having a fortnight ago republished part of a Long

Island Register, in which I had described CLEARY as having ridden the milk-white charger in Burdett's "Purity of Election" grand farce of 1818, Cleary has written to me to say, that *it was not he that rode the milk-white charger*; that he did ride a horse in the procession, to be sure; but, that it was *a bay horse* that he rode, and that he only merely made one of the general cavalcade, and did not so abominably disgrace himself as to be stuck up upon the milk-white charger, emblem of Burdett's *purity*! "Purity" of all sorts, God knows, and worth a monstrous deal to Mr. Canning, in the end. Cleary does not, in his letter to me, say any thing about the disgrace of riding upon the milk-white charger; and, perhaps, merely meant to act upon the old proverb, thinking that it is as just to put the rider, as well as the saddle, upon the right horse: objects which are, in this case, I suppose, of about equal importance to the public; but, as Mr. Cleary requests me to

do him justice upon this subject, I have complied with his request, and that too, with great satisfaction; and I will add here, that many men will very soon share upon every opportunity that offers itself, the revival of all recollection of their ever having been partizans of this "Westminster's Pride and England's Glory." His adherents have been falling off gradually for the last ten years. It is just about ten years since I told him, that, *without the people at his back he was nothing*; and, Canning will now find him a load upon his shoulders, in place of a spring at his back. Were I in Canning's place, I would beseech him, for the love of God, to keep further from me. He will be of no more use to him, really and *bona fide*, no more use to him, than a *shay-hay* is to the farmer after the wheat is up high enough to hide a hare. Canning will find him to have been just the contrary of utility: he will find him a thing to be driven away instead of a thing to be allured and

caressed. Had it not been for his sticking his knees into the back of Canning; had not he pledged himself to support Canning, and called him his "Right Honourable Friend," the decided, the loudly-expressed disapprobation of Canning would not, in all probability, have been so soon pronounced upon this new Prime Minister. He was an old enemy of Reform, the people bared little about his opinions: they detested his principles, but the detestation was notorious and general, and not thought necessary to be expressed. But, Burdett being placed at his back; Burdett having praised him and promised him support; Burdett having called him his "Right Honourable Friend:" these things having taken place, the new opposition put it to Canning what he would NOW do in the cause of Parliamentary Reform. Canning could not keep silent, under the question: he was compelled to say that he would oppose it for ever, or a very large part of his supporters, Whigs and

Tories, would have quitted him directly. Burdett's constituents saw that this proved the insincerity and inconsistency of Burdett: they were, of course, filled with indignation at his conduct, and, forth they came, to express their abhorrence of the principles of the minister to whom he had pledged his support. Burdett says that he is to have no reward for this support of Canning: that he expects to get nothing for it. *Get nothing!* Why, he is a hard bargain at a gift: he is dear at a gift, like an old house that is just tumbling down, saddled with the encumbrance of the owners being compelled to live either in it or close by it. Canning is saddled with Burdett, and, really, though I do detest the new Premier from the bottom of my soul, I will say, fairly, as I said in the case of the milk-white charger, that I do not believe that God has given man dominion so absolute over the brute creation, as to authorize his loading them in this kind of way. So much for Daddy Burdett for

the present; and, as to his "right honourable friend," he may judge of his popularity and of the real influence, at bottom, of the vile and corrupt press, of London, by what passed at the Mechanics' Institute last night. It was a Meeting in-doors. Mr. HUME, who "keeps his eye **THUS**;" who looks hard across the way; who neither lets out nor keeps in; who seems to be friendly; who seems to tender the olive-branch; who stretches it out, and, not being taken, draws it back again; who, doubtless, meant to show that he had a little band that he could play off upon occasion; this gentleman, this nice calculator of interest, *was in the Chair!* - Yet, the Address to the King which was carried, dared not even whisper a word in praise of Canning. On the contrary, his principles were manfully attacked, and, it was evidently owing to the diffidence, the personal modesty of the sensible men who attacked those principles, that a clause was not added to the Address, expressive of detestation of those principles. The Prime Minister's popularity does not shine much, then, even in London; even amongst those who are most under the influence of this deluding, base and corrupt press. Mr. Alderman Wood has said that he will support Canning; that his constituents approve of Canning: let Mr. Alderman Wood *call a Common Hall of London*, and he shall smother me in a hop-bag, or distil me into finings for porter, if the decision be not completely and ten to one against this daring, this insolent enemy of Parliamentary Reform. Again, I say, let Mr. Alderman Wood call the Common Hall: he will find that the corrupt press has not corrupted his honest constituents: he will find that that vile instrument has not debauched the minds of the people; and, if he do not call that Common Hall, I trust that somebody else will have the spirit to do it, and, then we shall see whether the people have abandoned the cause for which they have so long been contending.

I conclude this article with observing that I am about to insert a series of extracts from letters and speeches and addresses and resolutions, written, spoken, presented or proposed by Burdett. I beg the young men who read the Register; particularly the *young men*, to attend to these. The motives are pretty nearly enough, to be sure; but, here, there is a thousand times more than enough. Here is every thing ten times over repeated, to prove him to be destitute of every particle of political principle. Agreeably to the notification made in my last Register, it is the resolution of Mr. Hunt and of myself, to attend at the "*Purity*" dinner, at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand, on Wednesday next, the 23d of this month of May. I am yet to believe, and I am yet to see it, before I believe it possible, that one single man who has not been actually hired for the purpose, or who is not constantly retained in pay, will stand up to propose or to second, a motion for drinking the health

of this man. At any rate, I will put the party to the test, except some trick he played in order to prevent it: some trick like that of Monday last to prevent the Meeting; a trick more easy to play with success, because the getting up of the thing is in the hands of the cronies of the landlord of the house. But, I warn the old Daddy, that no trick of this sort shall answer his purpose in the end. I warn him, that if there be not a clear stage and fair play, he shall suffer for the obstruction in the end.

Thus, Gentleman, I take my leave of you for the present: I was one of those who put this man into the seat for Westminster; I was one of the principal actors in that affair: I was one of his principal props for many years. Just about ten years ago, I denounced him as being prepared to abandon the cause, for the sake of which, and for the sake of which only, we had put him up and upheld him. He has now proved that that denunciation was just;

and, if we do not pull him down from the eminence on which we placed him; we shall be unworthy of any relief from our present sufferings: we shall prove ourselves to be among the basest or most stupid of slaves, and shall deserve to be objects of his barter; deserve to be considered as slaves in the East Indies are, stock attached to his dominions.

In full confidence that not a man of you will, for a moment, entertain the thought of acting a part so base as this; in full confidence that that dreadful nightmare, the rump, having been removed, the men of Westminster will again set a bright example to the country; with this persuasion firmly fixed in my mind, I subscribe myself,

Your faithful friend, and

Most devoted Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

PROOFS

OF BURDETT'S *purity, sincerity, honesty, devotion to the common people, and, above all, of his consistency.*

(1.) "The struggle I have made has been for you, not for myself! Views of ambition and power were out of my contemplation. I did not wish for influence, but for the means of controlling power. My sentiments and opinions have uniformly been directed against the system, which it has ever been my wish to destroy. I have always endeavoured to show myself the enemy of despotism, and whether it is exemplified in the conduct of WILLIAM PITT or NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE, the principle of resistance is in both instances the same."—SPEECH AT THE CROWN AND ANCHOR, 20TH JULY, 1804, DURING THE ELECTION FOR MIDDLESEX.

(2.) Resolutions of a Meeting at the Crown and Anchor, proposed by SIR FRANCIS BURDETT in bringing forward Mr. Paull as a candidate for Westminster; in October, 1806.—(*Register*, vol. 10, p. 679.)

"Resolved.—1. That, to be represented in the legislature by men sent thither by our own free choice, is our undoubted right as Englishmen; is the only security for the possession of our property or the enjoyment of our personal freedom; and is, indeed, the only thing which distinguishes us from the subjects of a despot."

" 2. That duly impressed with
 " the value of this, our constitu-
 " tional privilege, and perceiving,
 " with deep affliction, that, through
 " the influence of corruption and
 " venality, this inestimable privi-
 " lege has, in numerous instances,
 " been undermined and annihila-
 " ted, it is, at this critical period,
 " the duty of every body having
 " a right to vote, and particularly
 " the Electors of this great and
 " populous city, so to exercise
 " their franchise as to exhibit to the
 " rest of the kingdom an example
 " of good sense, of public spirit,
 " of purity of principle, and of re-
 " solution to maintain or recover
 " these rights, which, when con-
 " stitutionally enjoyed, have al-
 " ways proved to be the greatest
 " blessing to the people, and the
 " securest foundation of the throne.
 " 3. That we have observed,
 " with unfeigned sorrow, that out
 " of the 658 members of the late
 " House of Commons; a compa-
 " ratively very small portion ever
 " attended their duty: that nearly
 " one half of the whole were place-
 " men, dependent officers, and
 " pensioners; that, it was but too
 " often evident, that the motive of
 " action was private interest ra-
 " ther than public good; and that,
 " amongst those who were loudest
 " in their professions of devotion

" to the king, the chief object was
 " to render him, as well as his
 " people, the slaves of faction.

" 4. That in the parliamentary
 " conduct of Mr. Paell, we have
 " observed a constant attention to
 " his duty, a strict adherence to
 " every promise made to the pub-
 " lic, a *virtuous abhorrence of op-
 " pressors and speculators, an in-
 " flexible perseverance in the pro-
 " secution of delinquency*, a rare
 " instance of resistance to those
 " temptations, by which so many
 " other men have been seduced
 " to betray their trust; and, that
 " upon these grounds, it is incum-
 " bent upon us, collectively and
 " individually, to use all the legal
 " means within our power to se-
 " cure his election, and therein to
 " do all that rests with us to pre-
 " serve our country from a fate
 " similar to that of so many
 " European states which have
 " fallen an easy conquest to the
 " enemy, only because the people
 " had neither property nor liberty
 " to defend."

(3.) "Gentlemen, figure to your-
 " selves a gang of robbers com-
 " bined to plunder the peaceable
 " and industrious inhabitants of
 " several surrounding parishes;
 " and agreeing amongst them-

“selves to share the booty in such
 “different proportions as the
 “leader of the gang shall appoint
 “to each. From time to time it
 “will happen that some thief or
 “other amongst them will pur-
 “loin a part of the booty, and
 “clandestinely appropriate to
 “himself more than his appointed
 “share. The purloiner is de-
 “tected: and the gang, with open
 “mouths exclaim against the atro-
 “city of cheating the regiment;
 “the only crime of the kind which
 “they acknowledge to be so.

* * * * *

“And unless the public, with an
 “united voice, shall loudly pro-
 “nounce the abolition of the
 “WHOLE of the present SYSTEM
 “OF CORRUPTION, I must
 “still continue to despair of my
 “country. In the meantime, though
 “an individual is almost as nothing
 “in the scale, I will carry with me
 “your sentiments into the House
 “of Commons. And I assure you
 “that no rational endeavours of
 “mine shall be omitted to restore
 “to my countrymen the undis-
 “turbed enjoyment of the fair
 “fruits of their industry; to tear
 “out the accursed leaves of the
 “scandalous RED BOOK: and
 “to bring back men’s minds to the
 “almost forgotten notions of the
 “sacredness of private property;

“which ought no longer to be
 “transferred from the legitimate
 “possessors *by the corrupt votes*
 “*of venal and mercenary combi-*
 “*nations.*”—ADDRESS TO THE
 ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER, 23d
 May, 1807.

(4.) *Speech at the first “Purity of Election” Dinner, held on the 29th June, 1807. (Register 4th July, 1807. Vol. xii. page 6.)*

“Gentlemen, it is quite impos-
 “sible for me to express in ade-
 “quate terms the sense I feel of
 “the affectionate manner in which
 “you have been so good as to
 “compliment me.—Your confi-
 “dence in my public principles,
 “and in the sincerity of my pro-
 “fessions, has called me, when I
 “least expected it, from the re-
 “tirement I had chosen. I have
 “but small hope, that any weak
 “endeavours of mine will be able
 “to benefit my country; because
 “the choice of a new House of
 “Commons is not what it ought
 “to be, and what it is hypocriti-
 “cally pretended to be—an ap-
 “peal to the sense of the people.
 “—In November last, the then
 “Ministry, by an unusual disso-
 “lution of Parliament, affected to
 “appeal to the sense of the peo-
 “ple. And this sense of the peo-

"ple, immediately consented to
 "drive themselves from the first
 "floor to the garret, and to beg-
 "gar their posterity by confirm-
 "ing to the Ministry a yearly
 "tenth of all the income and pro-
 "fits of the property and industry
 "of the whole nation, together with
 "an additional ten per cent. upon
 "the already enormous assessed
 "taxes.—Only six months after-
 "wards, another set of men, the
 "present Ministry, follow the ex-
 "ample of the last set, and affect
 "in their turn, by another disso-
 "lution of Parliament, to appeal
 "likewise again to the sense of
 "the people. What this last-
 "taken sense of the people will
 "produce it is easy to foresee,
 "and we shall soon experience.
 "—Gentlemen, they both of them
 "laugh at the people—they de-
 "spise the people—and those
 "who have robbed us most, have
 "justly the most contempt for us.
 "It is the common cant of both
 "parties to deny that there is any
 "such thing as the people—and
 "they insultingly ask us, where
 "such a thing as the people is to
 "be found in England?—I can
 "now answer their question—in
 "Westminster—in the metropo-
 "lis of England. And if the cor-
 "rupt and mercenary factions
 "shall see the other inhabitants of

"England act firmly and perse-
 "veringly like a people, they
 "will quickly acknowledge them
 "to be such—and those who now
 "tread oppressively upon their
 "necks will be found humble at
 "their feet.—I cannot, Gentle-
 "men, go back to my place at
 "the table, without returning my
 "sincere thanks to the electors of
 "Westminster, for the honour
 "they have conferred upon me ;
 "*assuring them that my whole*
 "*life shall be devoted to their*
 "*service.*"

(5.) "Thus, plans are proposed,
 "decided on and rejected! The
 "indecision of this Government
 "contrasted by the blind obsti-
 "nacy of the next, and both
 "outdone by the nick-name vigour
 "of the following! Distraction
 "in our councils and impotence
 "in our Ministers, while military
 "executioners are daring to fix
 "the badge of servitude on the
 "people. Alas! how deplorably
 "do I feel at the sight of the jour-
 "neymen politicians opposite;
 "feeble is the hope of England if
 "such is her dependence! Sir,
 "such are my sentiments on this
 "bill and on our present situation;
 "they are the result of observa-
 "tion, and of the instruction which

"I have gleaned from those pure
 "and venerable authors which
 "even the new morality has not
 "taught me to despise."—DEBATE
 ON LOCAL MILITIA. *May, 1808.*

(6.) "The Gentlemen who have
 "preceded me, have told you very
 "truly, that these abuses arise
 "from the imperfect state of our
 "Parliamentary representation.
 "I am fully convinced, that there
 "is not, at the present moment,
 "any subject worthy of engaging
 "the serious attention of the Eng-
 "lish nation, except the necessity
 "of a REFORM in PARLIA-
 "MENT. This sentiment has
 "been always entertained, and
 "always avowed by me, and I
 "do flatter myself that it was this
 "sentiment which first recom-
 "mended me to your notice.

* * * * *

"So far from the House of
 "Commons representing the sense
 "of the people of England, I
 "have ever found, since I have
 "been a member of the House
 "of Commons, that the most po-
 "pular sentiment, which can be
 "expressed in that place, is a
 "sentiment of CONTEMPT
 "FOR THE PEOPLE OF
 "ENGLAND, whose represen-
 "tatives they still profess to be.

"I do believe that the House of
 "Commons is the only spot in all
 "the world, where the people of
 "England are spoken of with
 "contempt. There they are con-
 "demned, there the characters
 "of Englishmen are lightly spoken
 "of, and their opinions and feel-
 "ings set at naught. If this cir-
 "cumstance does not show you
 "the necessity of Parliamentary
 "Reform, there is nothing that I
 "can say (were I to speak till
 "night), which could convince
 "you.

"The abuses of which we com-
 "plain, proceed directly from the
 "corruption which has taken root
 "in the whole system of govern-
 "ment. Where the source is
 "corrupt, the streams cannot be
 "pure. Where corruption has
 "fastened in the root, it will be
 "discovered in the fruits of the
 "tree. These abuses have ar-
 "rived to so flagrant a pitch, that
 "even the friends of that system
 "thought it necessary to have
 "commissions and inquiries in-
 "stituted for the purpose of pun-
 "ing and dressing the tree which
 "now produces such bitter fruit:
 "This, however, is not our busi-
 "ness; WE must LAY THE
 "AXE TO THE ROOT OF
 "THE TREE. Unless we de-
 "stroy this *Hydra of corruption*,

"it will destroy the country. The
*"monster now stands with happy
 "claws, seizing on all our sub-
 "stance, to supply the means of
 "its boundless prodigality.*

* * * * *

"I am free to confess, that it
 "is my opinion, that a *Parlia-
 "mentary Reform is now abso-
 "lutely necessary.* If it can be
 "obtained by quiet means, it will
 "be a most fortunate circum-
 "stance, not only for the country,
 "but for the government, for they
 "are the most *foolish and wicked
 "advisers of the crown, who ad-
 "vise the sovereign to treat with
 "scorn the wishes and opinions of
 "the people.*

* * * * *

"I HOPE THE NATION
 "HAS CEASED TO LOOK
 "FOR ANY ADVANTAGE
 "FROM ANY CHANGE OF
 "ADMINISTRATIONS. We
 "must look no more to parties,
 "and be assured that we never
 "can expect any measures really
 "useful, until the people of Eng-
 "land have their proper share
 "in the constitution of their
 "country."—SPEECH AT A MEET-
 "ING AT WESTMINSTER, 30th March,
 1839.

(7.) "At a meeting of the
 "FRIENDS of such a Reform

"as would secure to the People
 "the reality and use of Re-
 "PRESENTATION IN PARLIA-
 "MENT, held at the Crown and
 "Anchor Tavern, May 1839,
 "SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, Bart.,
 "M.P., in the Chair,

"Resolved,

"1. That it is the grand
 "principle of the Constitution,
 "that the People shall have a
 "share in the Government, by a
 "just representation in Par-
 "liament.

"2. That the long duration of
 "Parliaments greatly facilitates
 "the corruption of the members,
 "and removes that wholesome
 "check or control on their con-
 "duct, a frequent recurrence to
 "the opinions of their constituents.

"3. That in a petition pre-
 "sented to the House of Com-
 "mons on the 6th May 1793, it
 "was offered to be proved at the
 "Bar, 'that 154 individuals daily
 "by their own authority, appoint
 "or procure the return of 307
 "Members of that House (exclu-
 "sive of those from Scotland)
 "who were thus enabled to decide
 "all questions in the name of the
 "whole people of Great-Britain.'

"4. That this meeting believes
 "individual patronage in Bo-
 "roughs has increased since
 1793; that in those in which

“ the voters are few, and which
 “ are called open, the returns are
 “ for the most part obtained for
 “ money; that the representation
 “ for Scotland is extremely in-
 “ fluenced; and that there are
 “ great defects in that of Ireland:
 “ and it is the opinion of this
 “ meeting that a great majority of
 “ the members of the Commons’
 “ House are so returned that the
 “ nation is not constitutionally
 “ represented; though it is taxed
 “ to support an expenditure of
 “ 70,000,000 sterling a year.

“ 5. That in the Act (commonly
 “ called the Act of Settlement)
 “ which placed the House of
 “ Brunswick on the Throne of
 “ these Realms, it was asserted
 “ and recognised as the constitu-
 “ tional principle, That no person
 “ who has an office or place of
 “ profit under the King, or receives
 “ a pension from the Crown, shall
 “ be capable of serving as a
 “ Member of the House of
 “ Commons.

“ 6. That it appears by a report
 “ laid on the table of the House of
 “ Commons in June last, about 78
 “ of its Members are in the regular
 “ receipt under the Crown of
 “ £178,994 a year.

“ 7. That in 1782, it was de-
 “ clared by Mr. Pitt in the House
 “ of Commons, that seven or

“ eight Members of that House
 “ were sent there by the *Nabob of*
 “ *Arcot*, and that a foreign state
 “ in enmity to this country might
 “ procure a party to act for it
 “ under the mask and character
 “ of Members of that House.

“ 8. That such a state of repre-
 “ sentation is a national grievance.

“ 9. That in every department
 “ of the state into which inquiry
 “ has been made, scandalous cor-
 “ ruptions and abuses have been
 “ detected.

“ 10. That the exclusion of
 “ the public voice from all influ-
 “ ence in, and the consequent
 “ corruption of, the Governments
 “ of the Continental States, have
 “ been the causes of their subju-
 “ gation.

“ 11. That so long as the people
 “ shall not be fairly represented,
 “ *corruption will increase; our*
 “ *debts and taxes will accumulate;*
 “ *our resources will be dissipated;*
 “ the native energy of the people
 “ will be depressed; and the
 “ country deprived of its best de-
 “ fence against foreign foes.

“ 12. That to remedy the great
 “ and glaring evils of which we
 “ complain, it is not necessary to
 “ have recourse to theoretical
 “ speculations, or dangerous ex-
 “ periments in government, but
 “ to recur to the principles handed

" down to us by the wisdom and
" virtue of our forefathers.

" 13. That the remedy is to be
" found, and to be found **ONLY**,
" *in a full and fair representation*
" *of the people in the Commons'*
" *House of Parliament; a reme-*
" *dy equally necessary to the safety*
" *of the Throne, and the happi-*
" *ness and independence of the*
" *country.*

" 14. That we therefore re-
" commend to every town, city,
" and county, to take the state of
" the representation into consi-
" deration, and urgently, but tem-
" perately, to apply to Parliament
" to adopt such measures as shall
" secure to the nation the reality
" and uses of representation."

(8.) Speech of Sir Francis Burdett
in the House of Commons, on the
15th June, 1809. (*Register*, vol. 15.
page 974.)—

" Every part of the Empire
" will feel the benefit of the Re-
" form; but *no where* will the
" great advantages of the mea-
" sure be likely to prove more
" salutary than in that most inte-
" resting part of the empire—*Ire-*
" *land!* From the deep interest
" I take in the concerns of that
" country, from my idea of its
" mighty importance, have I re-

" served the mention of it till last;
" though the consideration of the
" manner in which I could devote
" my best service to it has never
" been out of my mind, never till
" now did it mature any practi-
" cable plan, calculated to give
" universal satisfaction to that
" generous, that insulted people,
" with perfect security to the state.
" *If Reform is necessary here, it*
" *applies much more forcibly*
" *there*; indeed, the peculiar situ-
" ation of that country makes it a
" measure of imperious necessity.
" —On the subject of Ireland I
" can hardly speak, from the fear
" of trespassing on the rule I had
" laid down for my conduct upon
" this occasion. I dare not ven-
" ture to trust myself with the
" grievances of Ireland. It is a
" subject I cannot discuss without
" a more considerable degree of
" warmth, than is consistent with
" that dispassionate line of con-
" duct I am upon this occasion
" particularly anxious to main-
" tain. My desire is to have Ire-
" land united with this country
" upon terms, however, very dif-
" ferent from those which at pre-
" sent exist. I should wish to see
" there a perfect equality of ad-
" vantage, and no exclusions. Of
" the present Union, so called, I
" shall speak but little at this

"time: suffice it to say, that it
 "was a measure contrary to the
 "wishes, repugnant to the interest,
 "revolting to the feelings of that
 "nation; and effected by means
 "the most flagitious, if the most
 "unblushing corruption on the
 "part of the agents, and the
 "breach of every solemn assur-
 "ance to the great body of that
 "people, not only implied but
 "expressed by the government of
 "that country, deserve the appel-
 "lation. Instead of that parch-
 "ment Union, I shall propose a
 "real Union of heart and affec-
 "tion, founded on the broad basis
 "of the Constitution, of equal
 "rights, and reciprocal interests.
 "—Away with that crooked
 "policy, that narrow-minded bi-
 "gotry of legislation, that intol-
 "erable intolerance, which keeps
 "alive perpetual heart-burnings,
 "hatred, and revenge. I wish
 "not to dwell upon this system;
 "it is high time to put an end to it.
 "—Is it to be any longer endur-
 "ed, that four millions of Irish-
 "men should be aliens and out-
 "laws in their native land? Is it
 "safe to have four millions of the
 "people thrust out of the pale of
 "the Constitution? Is it consis-
 "tent with reason, with common
 "sense, putting justice out of the
 "question, any longer to tolerate

"such a system? By the adop-
 "tion of Reform, the government
 "will have the fairest opportu-
 "nity of removing the principal
 "grounds of dissatisfaction in Ire-
 "land: now will be the time to
 "do every thing without yielding
 "any thing, to legislate upon en-
 "larged principles, knowing no-
 "thing of particular parties, sects,
 "or factions; keeping alive no
 "distinctions of Catholic, Protes-
 "tant, and Presbyterian, Tory,
 "Whig, or Jacobin; alarming no
 "prejudice, insulting no party,
 "they may now include the whole
 "within one bond of union of the
 "Constitution, embracing and en-
 "suring the safety and tranquil-
 "lity of the empire at large.—
 "We shall then, and not till then,
 "have an United Kingdom—one
 "King—one People.—We
 "shall by this recurrence to the
 "Constitution, not only seat the
 "Chief Magistrate upon his
 "throne, and fix the Crown upon
 "his head, but we shall place
 "within his hand the sceptre and
 "legitimate power of the King, in
 "despite of those 157 Borough-
 "mongers, who have TRAITO-
 "ROUSLY usurped all but the pa-
 "geantry and outward show and
 "forms of Royalty."

(9.) *Extract from an Address to the Prince Regent, from the Householders of the City and Liberties of Westminster.*

Presented on the 23d April 1811, by Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. and by the High Bailiff (the present High Bailiff) of the City of Westminster. This Address was delivered to the Prince Regent at the Levee, and was, by royal authority, afterwards published in the London Gazette.—*Register, 8th May, 1811, vol. 19, p. 1125.*

“Thirty years ago it was declared by Sir George Savile, in his place in Parliament, that the Commons’ House was no more a representation of the people of this kingdom than it was of the people of France.

“The seats in that House, both for close and for open boroughs, are notoriously marketable. One of them, as we are credibly informed, was once bought by a French king’s mistress for her English correspondent in time of war; and it stands on record that, at another time, those seats were purchased wholesale by the Nabob of Arcot for his intriguing agents. None, then, Sir, can assure us, that at this day’s whole troop in the pay of

“a Napoleon may not sit and vote in that House.

“The inveteracy of this disease was made manifest to the whole world, when, in the cases of Mr. Henry Wellesley, Lord Castlereagh, and the present Minister, Mr. Perceval, all accused of trafficking in those seats, not only no punishment ensued, but the traffic was vindicated—and for this extraordinary reason, that it was become as notorious as the sun at noon-day.

“Here, Sir, is the cancer of the State. With a House of Commons rapidly becoming, by the virulence of this pest, a mere mass of corruption, death must ensue, unless the cancer to its last fibre be eradicated, and free parliaments restored.

“For such a restoration your Royal Highness must perceive that no talent, no wisdom, no virtue in Ministers can become a substitute.”

(10.) *Extract from the speech of Sir Francis Burdett, in the House of Commons, on moving an Address in answer to the Message of the Prince Regent, on the 28th July, 1812. — (Register Vol. xxii. p. 172.)*

" The greatest grievance of
 " which the country had to com-
 " plain was, the assumption by
 " the House of Commons of the
 " whole of the powers of the State.
 " He (Sir F. Burdett) had been
 " constantly held up as the ene-
 " my to the constituted authorities
 " —to the authorities legally con-
 " stituted he was a sincere friend,
 " and he would at all times sup-
 " port the just power and dignity
 " of the Throne. The House of
 " Commons, a boroughmonger
 " faction, erected itself into an
 " odious oligarchy, and usurped
 " all the powers of the three
 " branches of the Constitution.
 " In this cause most of our evils
 " originated. The annual sum of
 " nearly 28 millions was paid as
 " the army expenditure, but on
 " calculating the pay of the whole
 " military force at the highest
 " rate, it did not exceed six mil-
 " lions. To what purpose, then,
 " was the remainder applied ?
 " It was divided among the offi-
 " cers, and was swallowed by jobs
 " in the barrack and other de-
 " partments. The same remarks
 " applied to the navy, and Lord
 " St. Vincent (no light authority
 " on this subject) had declared,
 " that the marine affairs of the
 " nation might be conducted at
 " one-third of their present ex-

pense. What then, it would be
 " inquired, was the remedy ? But
 " he was sure that those who put
 " the question could themselves
 " answer it without prompting—
 " *Parliamentary Reform*. On the
 " many occasions when this ques-
 " tion had been discussed, some
 " gentlemen had professed them-
 " selves friendly to reform, but
 " they did not see the benefit that
 " would result from it. If, as it
 " could be proved, the present
 " corrupt state of the representa-
 " tion was the real cause of all
 " the corruption in the various
 " branches of Government, the
 " benefit that would result from
 " reform, must be obvious to all.
 " The Ministers themselves, al-
 " though, in the present state of
 " things, they were supported by
 " corruption, were compelled to
 " be responsible for many acts
 " which originated in the defects
 " of the House of Commons.
 " Whether war or peace would be
 " the issue of our differences with
 " America was a question, com-
 " pared with Parliamentary re-
 " form, of little consequence, and
 " without it, the Regent might,
 " with any Ministers, in vain
 " attempt to satisfy his sub-
 " jects."

Extract from the Address moved

as above stated.—(*Register*, Vol. xxii. p. 183.)

“ We, however, deeply lament
 “ that any Privy Councillors of
 “ this realm could accept of com-
 “ missions to that end, without
 “ explicitly laying before your
 “ Royal Highness the necessary
 “ means of accomplishing the
 “ object in view, which could only
 “ have been effected by restoring
 “ the people to their rights, and
 “ so placing your Royal High-
 “ ness’s Government on the vir-
 “ tues and affections of the nation.
 “ We lament that your Royal
 “ Highness’s beneficent intentions
 “ and ready endeavours produced
 “ no effect advantageous to the
 “ country, and only gave occa-
 “ sion to intrigues and cabals, not
 “ less odious in their too obvious
 “ motives, than injurious to the
 “ character of the Government;
 “ it being made manifest to all
 “ men, that the persons who pos-
 “ sess, and those who aspire to
 “ the offices of state, no longer
 “ regard themselves as chosen by
 “ the Sovereign, but as the nomi-
 “ nees of the borough oligarchy,
 “ who equally invaded the province
 “ of the Crown, and the rights of
 “ the people, interposing with the
 “ one in the choice of its Ministers,
 “ and depriving the other of the
 “ election of its representatives.

“ If it were, at this day, necessary
 “ to point out the mischievous and
 “ disgraceful effects of this uncon-
 “ stitutional and disloyal invasion
 “ of the rights of both King and
 “ people; if, after all the votes
 “ by which the worst sort of ty-
 “ ranny and corruption have been
 “ sanctioned; by which Ministers
 “ have been screened against a
 “ charge of trafficking in seats in
 “ this House, and an Attorney
 “ General against a charge of
 “ oppression and partiality; if
 “ after all that we have witnessed
 “ in the course of the last twenty
 “ years, of outrage upon the rights
 “ and liberties of Englishmen,
 “ there still wanted proof of the
 “ pernicious and degrading in-
 “ fluence of the borough faction,
 “ that proof we must now regard
 “ as complete, when we recollect
 “ that at the end of several weeks,
 “ during which the business in
 “ Parliament was suspended, for
 “ the professed purpose of af-
 “ fording time to your Royal
 “ Highness to form a new Mi-
 “ nistry, that same House of Com-
 “ mons who had, by one vote, de-
 “ clared the Ministers to be in-
 “ competent, recognized by ano-
 “ ther vote the competence of
 “ these same Ministers, leaving
 “ scarcely a possible doubt as to
 “ the means by which the conver-

" sion had been effected. While
 " we are convinced, that posterity
 " will never believe that a King
 " and people of England were
 " thus made the sport and prey of
 " a borough faction, sustained
 " solely by a fraudulent pretence
 " of being the representatives of
 " the people, we of the present
 " day feel too sorely the reality of
 " the fact, which has been mani-
 " fested in a long train of useless
 " wars and expeditions; which,
 " while attended with a dreadful
 " waste of treasure and of life,
 " have almost uniformly failed in
 " their professed object, and have
 " only answered the purpose of
 " enriching the borough faction
 " and their dependants, as a re-
 " ward for political corruption."

(11.) Sir Francis Bardett's fall of
 snow letter to his Constituents,
 on being invited to attend a Meet-
 ing in Westminster to petition
 against the property-tax.—(*Re-
 gister*, vol. 26, p. 862.)

" Malmesbury Manor, Dec. 28, 1814.

" GENTLEMEN,

" I am much disappointed at
 " being prevented by a *heavy fall*
 " of snow, attending the Meeting
 " of the Electors of Westminster,

" advertised for the 20th Dec-
 " cember.

" I regret this the more, be-
 " cause, I perceive, by the word-
 " ing of the advertisement, that a
 " large and enlightened view of
 " the subject is intended to be
 " taken; one worthy the city in-
 " which this Meeting is to be held;
 " not narrowed to the considera-
 " tion only of an oppressive tax,
 " but enlarged to a general view
 " of that whole system of taxation;
 " every stroke of which, like the
 " cat-o'-nine-tails from the backs
 " of our soldiers, brings blood;
 " and which is not more galling
 " in the mode and severity of its
 " correction, than in its profligate,
 " corrupt, and wasteful expendi-
 " ture. In fact, the Income or
 " Property Tax has no title to
 " that pre-eminence in infamy, it
 " appears in public detestation to
 " possess, nor is it a whit more
 " arbitrary in its execution, cruel
 " in its operation, or ruinous in
 " its consequences, or unconsti-
 " tutional in its principles, than
 " the Excise, or many other sum-
 " mary, arbitrary, and unconsti-
 " tutional jurisdictions, established
 " by Act of Parliament, and root-
 " ing out the common law of the
 " land; that law which my Lord
 " Coke truly says is the best in-
 " heritance of the subject; besides-

"the torture of our soldiers, I
 "might add the brutal horrors of
 "the impress, the inhospitable
 "and tyrannical act against fo-
 "reigners, with a long string of
 "*et ceteras*, too numerous to in-
 "sert here, and too palpable to
 "be denied.

"The enlightened and patriotic
 "Electors of Westminster know
 "full well, that these are only a
 "few of the bitter fruits of that
 "*baleful tree, which nourisheth*
 "*its roots in that hot-bed of cor-*
 "*ruption from whence it sprung,*
 "*Saint Stephen's Chapel;* and
 "though it has struck deep in that
 "consecrated soil, we are in-
 "structed by the highest autho-

same authority how to deal with
 "it.

"That we may be able to deal
 "with it accordingly, before the
 "whole property of the country
 "is absorbed by Government,
 "before the nation is plunged
 "into fresh wars against human
 "liberty, and before the system
 "of dragooning introduced during
 "the last, is irremoveably esta-
 "blished, is the fervent prayer
 "of, Gentlemen, your ever grate-
 "ful, sincere, and attached Ser-
 "vant,"

" F. BURDETT."

[The extracts will be concluded
 in the next Register.]

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN through-
out ENGLAND, for the week end-
ing May 4.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat ..	56	1	Rye	39	5
Barley ..	39	7	Beans ...	47	2
Oats	31	3	Pease ...	52	0

Total Quantity of Corn returned as
Sold in the Maritime Districts, for
the week ended May 4.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	40,045	Rye	413
Barley ..	10,239	Beans . . .	1,283
Oats . . .	11,619	Pease	225

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British
Corn, &c. sold and delivered in
this Market, during the week ended
Saturday, May 4.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat..	5,397	for 16,263	10	3	Average, 60	2	
Barley..	2,005	..	4,053	1	4.....	45	0
Oats..	1,367	..	2,336	4	6.....	34	2
Rye....	0	..	0	0	0.....	—	—
Beans..	530	..	1,351	15	3.....	47	2
Pease..	426	..	968	17	1.....	45	5

Friday, May 11.—The supplies of
Grain this week are moderate, with
a fair quantity of Flour. The Wheat
trade is not quite so lively as on Mon-
day last, at no alteration in prices.
Barley, Beans, and Pease have no
variation. There is no alteration in
the top price of Flour.

Monday, May 14.—The arrivals
of all kinds of Corn during the pre-
ceding week were moderate, but this
morning the fresh supply of Grain in
general, consists of limited quantities
of Wheat, Barley, Beans, and Pease,
from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk.
There are a good many vessels now
coming in with Foreign Oats. The
best samples of Wheat found sale
readily at 1s. per quarter advance on
the terms of this day se'nnight, but
there are several parcels of middling
quality left on hand unsold, such
being very dull in sale.

Barley is scarce, and Grinding
parcels are rather dearer. Beans
and Pease firmly maintain last quo-
tations. There have been a few
country buyers of Oats here to-day,
but the demand for this article is
limited, and prices remain as last
quoted. There has been some at-
tempt to raise the price of Flour, but
up to the present hour it has been
unsuccessful.

Price on board Ship as under.

Flour, per sack	.....	46s. — 50s.
— Seconds	.....	42s. — 44s.
— North Country	..	40s. — 43s.

Price of Bread.—The price of the
4lb. Loaf is stated at 9d. by the
full-priced Bakers.

COAL MARKET, May 11.]

Ships at Market. Ships sold. Price.

78 Newcastle	32	..	30s. 0d. to 35s. 0d.
41½ Sunderland	30½	..	31s. 6d. — 36s. 6d.

Account of Wheat, &c. arrived in the Port of London, from May 7 to May 12, both inclusive.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	5,434	Tares	147
Barley ..	1,246	Linseed ..	29
Malt	5,158	Rapeseed ..	7
Oats	2,506	Brank ..	5
Beans ...	586	Mustard ..	—
Flour	6,790	Flax	—
Rye	38	Hemp	—
Pease	322	Seeds	6

Foreign.—Wheat, 5,908; Barley, 3,808; Oats, 18,924; Beans, 2,607 quarters.

Monday, May 14.—The arrivals from Ireland last week were, 837 bales of Bacon; and from Foreign Ports, 7,163 casks of Butter.

HOPS.

Price of Hops, per Cwt. in the Borough.

Monday, May 14.—Our market this morning has assumed a very brisk appearance, in consequence of the bad appearance of the Bine in all parts of the Plantations, and the uncongenial state of the weather, and more money has been asked and obtained, particularly for Pockets.

Maidstone, May 10.—The accounts this week are not so favourable, as the Flea has much increased in many grounds, where there is but little Bine to be seen, and the cold nights have rather checked those that were forwarder.

Worcester, May 9.—In our market on Saturday, 49 pockets of Hops were weighed; price 90s. to 100s. Business was rather flat. The plants were growing rapidly before the late cold winds, which have checked them.

SMITHFIELD.

Monday, May 14.—On Friday, Beef sold for something more than on Monday, but Mutton was 2s. to 3s. a-head lower. Lamb went off readily on full as good terms as before. To-day the supply of Beasts is moderate, and they will be all sold at a small advance in prime things on the price of this day se'nnight; but Mutton is rather cheaper, with a dull trade:—say 5s. 2d. as the top for short polled Sheep, and 5s. 10d. for the best Downs in the Wool. Choice Lamb is worth 7s., but middling does not sell readily, and is certainly cheaper.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	4	4	to	5
Mutton . . .	4	8	—	5
Veal	5	0	—	5
Pork	4	8	—	6
Lamb	6	0	—	7
Beasts . . .	2,095		Sheep . .	17,390
Calves . . .	170		Pigs . . .	153

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	8	to	4
Mutton . . .	3	8	—	5
Veal	3	8	—	5
Pork	4	0	—	6
Lamb	4	8	—	6

LEADENHALL, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	8	to	4
Mutton . . .	3	8	—	5
Veal	3	8	—	5
Pork	4	0	—	5
Lamb	4	4	—	7

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS, per Ton.

	L	s.	L	s.
Ox-Nobles.....	3	10	to	0 0
Middlings.....	2	5	—	0 0
Chats.....	2	0	—	0 0
Common Red.....	3	10	—	3 15
Onions, Or. Od.—Or. Od. per bush.				

BOROUGH, per Ton.

	L	s.	L	s.
Ox-Nobles.....	3	10	to	4 10
Middlings.....	2	5	—	0 0
Chats.....	2	0	—	0 0
Common Red.....	3	10	—	0 0

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay.... 85s. to 120s.

Straw... 36s. to 42s.

Clover... 90s. to 120s.

St. James's.—Hay.... 80s. to 120s.

Straw... 40s. to 48s. 6d.

Clover... 100s. to 140s.

Whitechapel.—Hay.... 84s. to 120s.

Straw... 36s. to 42s.

Clover... 90s. to 125s.

AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN, sold in the Maritime Counties of
England and Wales, for the Week ended May 4, 1927.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
London*.....	59	3	41	0	33	11
Essex.....	58	2	37	6	31	7
Kent.....	57	0	40	7	30	10
Sussex.....	55	4	36	9	31	0
Suffolk.....	55	10	37	6	31	0
Cambridgeshire.....	53	1	36	11	29	10
Norfolk.....	55	6	37	3	29	10
Lincolnshire.....	55	5	41	0	28	3
Yorkshire.....	54	10	41	10	29	1
Durham.....	55	5	42	0	36	9
Northumberland.....	54	2	39	4	32	0
Cumberland.....	62	9	41	1	35	1
Westmoreland.....	61	2	42	1	38	1
Lancashire.....	62	8	43	3	33	10
Cheshire.....	60	10	46	1	29	10
Gloucestershire.....	57	5	43	5	40	1
Somersetshire.....	54	3	42	4	32	3
Monmouthshire.....	62	4	46	8	0	0
Devonshire.....	56	7	40	3	32	1
Cornwall.....	62	9	39	11	37	5
Dorsetshire.....	54	11	40	1	35	0
Hampshire.....	55	2	40	4	0	0
North Wales.....	63	11	45	5	29	9
South Wales.....	59	7	46	6	27	0

* The London Average is always that of the Week price

Liverpool, May 8.—There was a very thin attendance at this market, and little business doing in Wheat and Flour. Oats and Oatmeal were particularly dull, and a decline may be quoted of 1d. in 45lb. on good, and 2d. on ordinary qualities. Indian Corn, white, advanced 1s. per quarter.

Imported into Liverpool, from April 24, to April 30, 1827, inclusive:—Wheat, 8,308; Barley, 4,443; Oats, 15,666; Rye, 140; Malt, 7; Beans, 2,796; Pease, 786 quarters. Flour, 2,830 sacks, per 280 lbs.; Oatmeal, 56 packs, per 240 lbs.; American Flour, 564 barrels; and Indian Corn, 4,681 quarters.

Derby, May 12.—Our Corn market this day was well attended by the farmers and factors; we had also a good supply of Grain, except fine Wheat, which article found some customers at about 1s. per quarter advance. The sales in other kinds of Grain were small, although at some reduction in price.

Horncastle, May 12.—Our market for Wheat was something higher. Barley nearly the same as last week; other articles of Grain rather lower. Wheat, 58s. to 59s.; Barley, 40s. to 43s.; Oats, 28s. to 32s.; Beans, 55s. to 60s.; and Rye from 40s. to 44s. per quarter.

Ipswich, May 12.—We had a very short supply of Wheat, and a remarkably small one of Barley again to-day. More money was asked for Wheat and Beans, but little disposition was evinced to comply. Prices as follow:—Wheat, 54s. to 63s.; Barley, 36s. to 41s.; and Beans, 48s. to 50s. per quarter.

Manchester, May 12.—Our market to-day has been well attended, and most articles fully support the prices of this day week. Wheat of the finest quality obtained an advance of 2d. per 70lbs.; other sorts in proportion. Barley not so much inquired for. The demand for Oats has been good, and last week's rates maintained. Beans are scarce, and 1s. per quarter dearer. In Pease nothing doing. Malt is dull in sale, but no lower. Fresh-made Flour obtained a further advance on last week's rates, with a good demand.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, May 12.—We had a small supply of Wheat from the farmers this morning, and not having any arrival coastwise, the millers were obliged to give an advance of 2s. per quarter upon the prices of last week. Barley continues to be taken off at former prices, but the malting season is nearly over, and the demand for Barley is very limited. The farmers' supply of Oats was small, but we have had several cargoes from the Baltic during the week, and as there seems to be now no doubt that they will next week be imported at 4d. per quarter duty, the price in bond is very nearly the same as for those which are free. English Oats are 2s. per quarter dearer.

Normich, May 5.—The supply of all Grain this day was small, and the demand for Wheat brisk, Red 52s. to 60s.; White, to 61s.; Barley, 32s. to 41s.; Oats, 28s. to 32s.; Beans, 43s. to 48s.; Pease, 44s. to 48s.; Boilers, to 52s. per quarter; and Flour, 42s. to 43s. per sack.

Reading, May 12.—We had a better supply of Wheat at our market this day, which met a ready sale at an advance of 1s. per quarter. We note it 55s. to 70s. There was a short supply of Barley, which was taken off at last week's prices. Oats met a heavy sale, in consequence of the ports being about to open for the admission of that article. Beans and Pease were in better demand and 1s. dearer.

Wakefield, May 11.—The supply of Wheat to this day's market is good; fine fresh samples sell slowly at rather better prices than were obtained last week, but all other descriptions are without alteration in value.

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS; &c.

Horncastle, May 12.—Beef, 9s. 7d. per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton, 8d.; Lamb, 10d.; Pork, 7d.; and Veal, from 8d. to 9d. per lb.

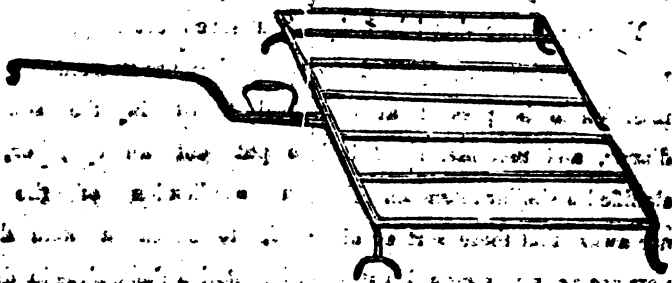
Manchester Smithfield Market, May 9.—Our market to-day was better supplied with Beef, Mutton and Lamb. Such Beasts as were fat fully supported last week's rates, but lean sorts were not so good to sell. Fat clipt Sheep met tolerable free sale, at about $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per lb. below last week's price, and those that were not clipt barely supported their price. There was a good demand for fat Lambs, at the quotations below. Veal and Pork each maintained the price of this day se'nnight.—Beef, 5d. to 8d.; Mutton, 7d. to 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Lamb, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Veal, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 7d.; and Pork, 5d. to 6d. per lb., sinking offal.

At *Morpeth Market*, May 9th, there was a good supply of Cattle and Sheep; inferior met with dull sales; prices rather lower.—Beef, from 7s. to 7s. 9d.; Mutton, 9s. to 9s. 6d. per stone, sinking offal.

Norwich Castle Meadow, May 12.—We had a good supply of fat Cattle to this day's market, prices 7s. 6d. to 8s. 6d. per stone of 14 lbs., sinking offal; the supply of Store Stock was also large; Scots sold at 4s. to 4s. 6d. per stone of what they will weigh when fat; Shorthorns, 3s. to 3s. 9d. Cows and Calves and Homebreds, a very flat sale. Horses for riding inquired after; few good ones here: in Cart Horses there is little doing. The Sheep pens were again this day well filled with many excellent Hoggets, but few sold, and those considerably lower than even the prices of last week, 18s. to 26s.; fat ones to 35s.; Ewes and Lambs 20s. to 25s. the couple. Pigs, a flat sale, fat ones to 7s. 6d. per stone.—Meat: Beef, 7d. to 9d.; Veal, 6d. to 8d.; Mutton, 6d. to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Lamb, 9d.; and Pork, 6d. to 8d. per lb.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

VOL. 62.—No. 9.] LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1827. [Price 6d.]



"Whenever the leaders of contending parties and factions, in a state, unite, the history of the world bears evidence, that it never is in favour, but always at the expense, of the people; whose renewed and augmented pillage pays the scandalous price of the reconciliation."—SIR FRANCIS BACON'S ADDRESS TO THE FREEHOLDERS OF MIDDLESEX, 1606.

TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

REMARKS ON THE WESTMINSTER "PURITY" DINNER.

Fleet Street, 24th May, 1827.

GENTLEMEN,

If you had all been present, yesterday, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand; or, if a fair report of what took place, had, or could have been published in the newspapers of to-day, I should have been spared the trouble of writing, and you the trouble of reading, any thing,

on the subject, in my Register.

But, seeing that, by the high price of admission, by the comparative smallness of the place, and by the want of means, or want of will, in the newspaper people, to give any thing like a full and fair report, there are some essential facts and remarks that I deem it my duty to lay before you, as far as I am able

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Printed and Published by WILLIAM COBBETT, No 183, Fleet-street.
[ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.]

by my very limited means, to effect that object.

You are aware that I had, by public advertisement, signified my intention to be present at that dinner, and that Mr. Hunt had signified a similar intention. You are aware that these sort of dinners are got up by men, if not actually employed, acting in perfect concert with Sir Francis Burdett, and with others who expect to derive profit in some way or other from the use which is made of such dinners. These persons first call themselves a *Committee*. They bespeak the dinner; they get the cards ready to sell; they dispose of these to a great part of the persons that are to come to that dinner; and, if they or their employers choose to go to the expense, they can give cards away to any extent, and thus fill the room with their own creatures, which, to a certain extent, they invariably do when they have reason to expect opposition of any sort. The Committee then turns itself into a body of "*Stewards*," and arm

themselves with good stout sticks, which they politely call *wands*, about seven feet long, with which wands they are enabled to give a good thrust in the stomach, to put out an eye, or, by an application of the butt end, to knock a man down. They station themselves in different parts of the room, listen to the conversation of the company, communicate frequently with a select Committee of them, stationed in an adjoining room, and, upon an emergency, rush all to one spot, in order to prevent any one from speaking any words or doing any act, at all inconvenient to the great Jupiter, to protect whom against the effect of any speech, is their principal business and object.

It was manifest that there were great expectations with regard to the proceedings at this dinner. There is a cross-table at one end of this immense room, and there are five tables length-wise the room. In the middle of the cross-table is seated the Chairman;

and, then these stewards take upon themselves, not only to invite whom they please at the expense of the company in general, but to seat these invited parties along the sides of this cross-table, which is considered the post of honour. Mr. Hunt made application two days before-hand to have seats for himself and me at this cross-table, it being most convenient to address the whole room from that station. This request was refused, and, therefore, we went and took our station at the upper end of one of the long tables (it was that table which was next to the right hand wall), on the left of the Chairman, and, of course, our station was very near to one of the ends of the cross-table. The stewards had promised Mr. Hunt that he and I should have a fair hearing. I well knew, that, if the miracle existed that they desired this, they had no power of enforcing their desire. It was not to be expected that there would be a fair hearing, and it was easy to perceive,

that every possible previous step had been taken to prevent it. If BURDETT came to the dinner, of which there were very great doubts, it was clear to every one that the intention was to smother our voices by some means or other, if possible; and, never, by any means, *to put any question to the vote.*

The room was very full. There were nearly twice as many people as had ever been seen at one of these dinners before. At five o'clock, in marched Sir Glory, accompanied by Daddy Coke, Lord John Russell and others, whose names will be found in the newspaper report, which I shall insert by-and-by, and the reader will find them to be a whole band of place-men, pensioners, sinecure-people, notorious expectants, accompanied by a downright fool or two, who had been wheedled to swell the cortège. As soon as the dinner had been cleared away, in marched a couple of these pretty fellows called *stewards*, at the

head of a band of about twenty Lord Charleses and fellows of that description, who were conducted round to the back of the cross-table, and there seated down in chairs; and they had manifestly beer brought in, contrary to every principle of justice towards the company in general, to give their votes, or to make a noise for Sir Glory.

Every thing being thus prepared, the work of toasting began. By turning to the Morning Chronicle's report, which you will find at the end of my letter to you, you will see the order of the toasts. Sir Glory had been received in a very cold manner. He had come up on the side of the room opposite to that in which we were stationed. Gentlemen sitting there, have assured me, that, comparatively, very few persons rose from their seats as he passed, though accompanied by such a long train of lords and members of Parliament. A few men in a room make a great noise: but I, who sat at the

head of a long table, and could see all down that table, saw that not one third part of the people at that table took any notice at all of his entering. The demonstrations were those of curiosity, of expectation of sport; and not at all of that respect which used formerly to be shown upon these occasions. I was determined to put him upon his trial; to have a fair defence from him; to have a fair decision on the part of the people present; to have his conduct fairly put to the vote, and to cause all the world to be convinced that he dared not to meet a VOTE, even in an assembly in which it would not be very difficult to prove that there were more than three score men who had had *cards given to them*, and who had, in fact, been hired; been fed and hired to prevent any thing being fairly put to the VOTE.

I went prepared to put his conduct to the vote, by moving a resolution, consisting of twenty clauses, and which resolution I intended to move at the time when

the Baronet's health should be proposed, concluding the resolution with the proposition that the health of the Baronet ought not to be drunk. This resolution, containing an epitome of the whole of his political life, from the time that he proposed *to tear the leaves out of the accursed red book*, until the time when he went and tickled the shoulders of Canning with his knees, I shall insert, after inserting the Newspaper report of this dinner; and, then, Gentlemen, you will see what wretches those must have been, what despicable slaves, or what detestable hirelings, who would have drunk or would attempt to drink the health of this man as a friend of Parliamentary Reform, and as a consistent politician.

I soon discovered that it would be utterly impossible to obtain silence sufficient for the reading of this paper; I soon discovered that the object of the Baronet and his crew would be, from one end of the meeting to the other, to prevent a hearing of any body but

himself. I had discovered, indeed; I saw it clearly, from the commencement, that there was a great *majority of members* in the room, hostile to the Baronet. We had three to his one; but, his were either stewards, who were persons in authority apparently; or, they were desperate hirelings, in clothes not much worthy of protection; they were distributed in all parts of the room; they had their instructions regularly given what to do, and you might see the principal person who had the superintendence of them, going from group to group, to see that they did their duty. Twenty men, in a room like this, supported in their annoying acts by stewards, will prevent a hearing, in spite of all the rest put together. This was the plan, and on this plan the partizans of the Baronet acted throughout the meeting.

It was not a place for *making speeches*; it was not a place for entering into debates and discussions; it was a place for *drinking toasts*; I, therefore, adopted the

resolution to propose *amendments to toasts*, as the method, as the channel, of bringing the Baronet's conduct to a VOTE. When, therefore, the old toast about Parliamentary Reform was given, I proposed, before the toast was drunk, to make an addition, by way of amendment to the motion. Nothing could be more fair, nothing more regular than this; and, I will now, Gentlemen, lay before you the toast as amended by me; and here it is:

"A full, fair, and free representation
 "of the people in the Commons' House
 "of Parliament, the only effectual remedy for all our national grievances;
 "— and a hearty prayer on our part,
 "that his Majesty will be graciously
 "pleased to chase from his councils,
 "instantly and for ever, the minister
 "who has had the audacity to declare,
 "that he will oppose, to the last hour of
 "his parliamentary life, a reform of
 "the Commons' House of Parliament,
 "in whatever shape it may appear."

You will please to observe, Gentlemen, that the part which is in italic characters was added by me. What could be more just, what more reasonable than this? Here was nothing offensive to any person present, except that per-

son was an enemy of Parliamentary Reform; an enemy of that which the original toast professed to wish for so anxiously. Yet, the moment the amendment was proposed, the hired crew set up a yell; and, after pretty nearly an hour spent, this part of the affair ended without any motion ever having been put to the meeting, and without the toast ever having been drunk at all.

Next came the health of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, moved, as usual, by Daddy Sturch; but, the Daddy did not, upon this occasion, venture to call him either *Westminster's Pride* or *England's Hope* or *Glory*. The Daddy having made his motion, I, in regular order, rose and proposed an addition in the way of amendment. Here follows the whole toast, as amended by me; the part in *italics* being my part, and the part not in *italics* being the part of Daddy Sturch:

"The health of our Representative,
 "Sir Francis Burdett, the great, consistent advocate of the rights and
 "freedom of the people, whose long,

"disinterested, and zealous exertions in their service entitle him to the gratitude and esteem of the country;—*yes, that very Sir Francis Burdett, who, for years past, has represented Mr. Canning as the great champion of corruption; that very Sir Francis Burdett, who recently declared this Mr. Canning to support the system of corruption for the sake of the public money, which he and his family got by it; that very Sir Francis Burdett, who now sits at the back of this same Mr. Canning, and promises to support him, while this Mr. Canning has the audacity to declare, to this Sir Francis Burdett's face, that he will oppose Parliamentary Reform to the end of his Parliamentary life.*"

Now arose a row, a yelling, a noise, a hurly-burly, a confusion and uproar, enough to stun any man, but, far sweeter to the ears of Burdett than a hearing of my speech would have been. He seemed to feel, however, that he must be branded with the basest of partiality, if he did not come forward as Chairman and demand silence. He did this; he said that it was the proper time for me to make the motion, if I made it at all; and he requested the yellers to hear. They knew too well his meaning to listen to the request. At last, I said, "put my motion to the

VOTE: it is the VOTE that I want: it is the SHOW OF HANDS that the company wants: refuse that, and sentence of guilty is passed upon you." Urged in this manner, manifestly wishing for a shuffle to get out of putting the question to the vote, he asked to have my amendment communicated to him IN WRITING. A gentleman carried it to him in pencil. He wanted it in ink. Where were ink and pen to be gotten, and who was to write in a noise, a pushing, a knocking about, a confusion like that into which his fears had plunged us. Having got it, however, at last, he and his sagacious colleague discovered that it was nonsense, and that he would not put nonsense to the meeting; so that, he never put the question to the meeting at all; I called to him and told him that he dared not put the question to the meeting; that he dared not venture upon a show of hands, even in his own packed assembly; that he dared not meet a vote, even upon his own dunghill. I reproached him:

with partiality; with political cowardice, with an intention to sneak away from the present test, and I made shift, in spite of the noise, to make his supple band of place-hunters hear me say that he would never dare to look the people of Westminster in the face again, out in the open air. After this, *pretending to believe* that his health had been drunk, he affected to return *thanks for the high honour*; and I suffered him, without interruption, and my friends were all always ready to hear every body, to proceed upon his *defence*. A most miserable defence it was, a wriggling, a twisting, a shuffling, a winding and working about, in voice so faltering, and with a look so miserable, lips so pale and so quivering, that I turned round to a band of the Lord Charleses who were in a corner to my right hand, and asked them "which would you rather be, in that man's situation, or double-ironed in Newgate?" His speech was received with occasional shouts

by the dirty-shirted hirelings, and by the place-hunting tribe that surrounded him; but, not one minute of it passed, without groans, hisses, or without "No, no, it won't do; it won't do; ha ha, that will never do," from a considerable part of the assembly. After this exhibition, the most dismal that ever struck my eyes, the most deplorable, when I recollect him in former times, he sat down with a swaggering sort of period that excited a species of laugh enough to sting a man to his very soul.

Mr. HUNT replied to him at considerable length, and obtained, in some parts of his speech, a tolerable hearing; but, whenever he touched on matter that pinched the Baronet, thy myrmidons began to yell, and not a word was to be heard. And, thus ended this second part of the trial, without the Chairman ever having dared to put the question to the VOTE. He now found the benefit, the want of which his neighbour COKE had had to deplore in St.

Andrew's Hall at Norwich; he now found the benefit of being Chairman, or judge, where he himself was upon his trial; which is, I take it, what is meant by the old saying of "going to law with the Devil, when the court is held in hell." Daddy Coke had seen me carry a petition in the county of Norfolk, though myrmidons had been hired to prevent both speech and petition from being heard; but, there was an upright chairman in St. Andrew's Hall. There was an honourable man, the Sheriff of the county; he saw me hold up a paper, he saw the meeting agree to that paper; having had that paper handed to him, and finding it to be a petition of the county of Norfolk, which had been fairly put to the vote, he signed it as the petition of the county of Norfolk. If Burdett had acted as fair a part here, he would have been voted out of the chair before the end of the evening, and he would have been requested, by another vote, to resign his seat for the city of

Westminster; and this he knew very well.

Next came a motion from Lord WILLIAM RUSSELL, to drink the health of poor little HOBHOUSE, who had, for two hours, or thereabouts, been looking more dead than alive. They said that I was a very devil for mending things; for, now came another amendment. I found no fault of Lord William's motion. I only begged leave to add to it a little; and, I observed, to be sure I should meet with no opposition this time, as the whole of my proposition consisted of additional thanks to Mr. Hobhouse. The toast, as amended by me, stood as follows:—

(Lord William Russell's part.)

"The health of John Cam Hobhouse, Esq. our Representative, who is not more distinguished for the diligent assiduity and ability of his services, than for the unremitting integrity which he displays in the discharge of his duty to his constituents."

(My part.)

"And our best thanks to him, for the character which he once drew of the enemy of Reform, and especially for his declaration, made during an anniversary dinner in this room in 1818, that the same enemy was a

"THY THE NOTICE OF ANY RATIONAL MAN, and could only be respectable in the eyes of the Meeting as having been an object of the animadversion of SIR FRANCIS BURDETT; and that he could assure the worthy Electors of Westminster, that, on no other account, would he, MR. HOBHOUSE, have presumed, even for a moment, to mention that ABANDONED NAME."

Now began a row in reality. Burdett would not put my amendment; Hobhouse could get no hearing; I begged of him to let my amendment be put; "for," said I, "my dear little Sancho, I propose nothing but to give you *additional thanks*." The word Sancho seemed to fill the little creature with astonishing rage. He snatched a "wand" out of the hands of one of his stewards, darted at me a furious look, and, as he ran along towards the end of the cross-table to get at me, upon my soul he put me in mind of Gulliver's swaggering about with his broad sword upon the table of the Brobrynagians. He said, "If you say that again, I'll knock you down!" A tremendous shout of laughter, in which stewards, Lord

Charleses, and all seemed to join, sent him back again without his wand, which some of them had got out of his hand.

It now became manifest that there was no such thing as recovering the interest of the humbug; that the parties must disperse in disgrace, unless I could be *forced out of the room*. "Out with him! Turn him out! Down with him! All, all, all, say turn him out!" And, on they came, headed by a dozen or two of "stewards" with their wands: one gave a poke at my stomach: another took an extraordinary good aim at my eye with the point of his wand; but a friend, seeing it coming, snatched hold of it and broke it, and thrust the big end of it back against his throat. Friends seeing me in danger, rushed from all parts: in a minute the whole banditti were knocked back; the Lord Charleses in our quarter had, by this time, scampered off out of their chairs: Mr. Hunt made a *chevaux de frise* with

the chairs turned upside down on that side; and, though, at the beginning of the battle, I had been (not being upon my guard) torn off the table with the loss of part of my waistcoat, I was soon surrounded by a body of men, who, if I had pressed it, I verily believe, would have gone and plucked the Baronet from his chair, and tossed him out into the street. I discouraged every thing of the sort. I said, "they are covered with everlasting disgrace: we have beaten them to nothing; and it is not for us to commit acts of brutal violence." Some little time after this, I got upon the table again, out of mere curiosity, to see what the humbugs were at, all, now, being confusion, and the toasting and speech-making being going on in dumb show. Two fellows got upon the table, with the apparent intention to annoy me. Some of my friends jumped on to drive these fellows off. A battle being apparently approaching, others jumped on in like manner, and down came

the table with us all, the crash keeping time with another crash that was going on in the vicinage of the Baronet, just by whose head a butt end of one of his steward's wands had passed, and smashed a pane of glass in the window behind his back. By this time, Daddy Coke and several others who had come for the purpose of shining as speech-makers, but who had no taste, it seems, for the harmony produced by these missiles, had decamped, leaving the honours of the forum to Mr. Thompson, the Member for Dover (to whom, while he was speaking, the people cried out "Spare the tallow!") to Lord John Russell, and to Lord Nugent and his bottle companion, upon this occasion, the renowned Mr. Wooler, who was called forth and who actually made a speech, not defending the conduct, but apologizing for the conduct of the Honourable Baronet in the Chair, as he called him, while I exclaimed to the Baronet, "Misery brings a man acquainted with strange bed-fellows!"

This does appear to have been too much even for the fallen Baronet to bear ; and up he got, marched off with the remnant of his retinue, amidst the clapping of the well-stuffed hirelings, the rappings of the stewards upon the floor, and the hissings and hootings of all the rest of the assembly.

The close was perfectly worthy of all the rest ; for, Mr. JEREMIAH HARMER, Sir Francis Burdett's *London Attorney*, in whose service Mr. Wooler now is, *made a motion, calling Mr. Wooler to the Chair*, in which Mr. Harmer's client had just been sitting. Many of the remaining part of the company pressed Mr. Hunt to take the Chair ; but Mr. Hunt apologised by saying that, though he should be very happy to comply with the wishes of the company, he would never disgrace himself so much as by sitting in a chair that had been sitten in by Sir Francis Burdett.

This was a proper finish. There was no staying any longer :

here ended the career of Sir "Glory ;" and, now let us wait for the next title that he is to receive.

I conclude with requesting you, Gentlemen, to observe, that, both in the report of the proceedings of this meeting which I have given from the *Morning Chronicle*, and in the extracts which I have given in the resolution which was to have been moved at this Meeting, I speak not my own words, I give you not my own opinions of men or of things ; but I give you matter which is upon record, which is in print, and which has been said, not by me, but by Sir Francis Burdett. When you have read all these, judge not of other men by what he has asserted at various times ; but judge of him by what he has asserted ; for, if he spoke falsely or truly, he stands, now, convicted of the greatest political inconsistency, of the most flagrant destitution of political principle, that ever was beheld in mortal man. I am, Gentlemen,

Your faithful friend, and
Most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION ANNIVERSARY.

[FROM THE MORNING CHRONICLE,
MAY 24th.]

The Twentieth Anniversary of the Triumph of Purity of Election in Westminster was held yesterday, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern; Sir Francis Burdett in the Chair.

The Meeting was very numerous, and we observed among those who sat at the cross table with the Hon. Baronet, the following gentlemen:—

Guest, M. P., Montague Burgoyne, Esq., Lytton Bulwer, Esq., J. T. Clarke, Esq., W. Smith, M. P., Otway Cave, Esq. M. P., Monsieur Renuset, Monsieur Guiguel, J. Blackburne, Esq., J. Smith, Esq., of Liverpool, S. W. Scott, Jones Burdett, Esq., Lord Viscount Ebrington, T. W. Coke, M. P., — Sykes, M. P. Hon. H. Howard, M. P., Lord J. Russell, M. P., Lord W. Russell, M. P., Sir J. Graham, M. P., John Wood, M. P., Sir R. Heron, Bart., T. S. Rice, M. P., J. Paulett Thompson, M. P., Henry Warburton, M. P., S. C. Whitbread, M. P., Lord Nugent, Alexander Dawson, M. P., Sir R. Wilson, Sir J. Barham, — Dealtry, Esq., Mr. Buckingham, &c. &c. Mr. Cobbett and Mr. Hunt sat near the head of one of the side tables. When Sir Francis Burdett and his friends entered the room, the great body of the Gentlemen assembled stood up till he passed, but we could not observe that either Mr. Cobbett or Mr. Hunt rose from their places.

After the cloth had been removed, the Chairman proposed, as the first toast—
“The people, the only source of legitimate power”—(drunk with acclamations.)

Tune—Britons, strike home.

The next toast proposed was—“The King, and may he confirm his own declaration, that the Crown is held in trust for the benefit of the people”—(drunk with great applause.)

Tune—Rule Britannia.

The third toast proposed by the Chairman was—“A full, fair, and free Representation of the People in the Commons House of Parliament—the only

effectual remedy for all our national grievances.”

Tune—Keep the rogues out.

Mr. COBBETT here rose to address the Meeting; but the hootings of one portion of the Meeting and the applauses of another part, prevented his being heard:

Mr. GALLOWAY then came forward, and solicited the attention of the Electors for a moment. He stated that he addressed them in the name of the Stewards, to request that they would not refuse to hear Mr. Cobbett, or any Gentleman who was desirous of calling their attention, in a regular way, to any thing that he might think material, if the subject matter introduced was such as was consistent with the nature and object of the Meeting. It was illiberal to prevent any gentleman from addressing them, as long as he confined himself to such matters as were proper to be brought under their attention; and if any man should abuse their indulgence, and endeavour to introduce extraneous or improper matter, then the good sense of the Company would call him to order. In the mean time, no irregularity had been committed, and they ought to hear any gentleman who chose to address them.

Mr. COBBETT then rose again, but the tumult increased, and for a long time he could not be heard at all; and owing to the continued uproar, he could not be heard perfectly at any time. If the Meeting chose to hear him, he would not occupy their attention for any length of time, as all he wanted was to make a slight addition to the toast. [Cries of “Down with him!” and “Turn him out!”] The Meeting might accept or reject what he had to propose to them, as they pleased; but he was resolved that, if he possibly could accomplish it, the acceptance or rejection should be decided by a fair show of hands [uproar]. What he had to say at present was not so much directed against Sir Francis Burdett, as against the implacable and everlasting enemy of Parliamentary Reform—the man who had openly and constantly declared, that he would resist Parliamentary Reform, at whatever time, in whatever manner, or in whatever shape it might be brought forward [uproar]. His proposal ought, certainly, to have a fair hearing [The uproar continued, but Mr. Cobbett appeared by no means disposed to sit down. His toast at length was drunk with tumultuous applause.]

This toast, as amended by me, stood thus: you will observe that the original

toast, is in the common type, and my amendment in the italic type.

"A full, fair and free Representation
of the People in the Commons' House
of Parliament,—the only effectual
remedy for all our national grievances;
—and a hearty prayer on our part,
that his Majesty will be graciously
pleased to chase from his Councils in-
stantly and for ever, the Minister, who
has had the audacity to declare, that
he will oppose to the last hour of his
Parliamentary life, a Reform of the
Commons' House of Parliament, in
whatever shape it may appear."

Mr. STURCH came forward to propose the next toast, which, he said, was certainly not a new one, but one that had been received in that very room for twenty successive years, with every expression of cordial approbation and applause. He himself had had the honour, and, he would add, the pleasure of proposing the toast now put in his hand, as many who had been in the habit of attending the anniversary of the glorious triumph of Westminster would know. But before he proposed the toast—[Here there was a pause, and a cry of "You must deliberate." Great laughter.]—He certainly did not intend to trouble the Meeting with any thing like an attempt at a speech; yet they would allow him to state, that when he had the honour of proposing this toast at the last Anniversary, he had no expectation then that it ever would be his lot to propose it again. Being advanced in years, no doubt many persons would think he ought to resign the office to abler hands, especially as it was the fashion at the present day for great men to resign, thinking they had held their offices long enough, and, as others had thought, much too long. [Great cheering.] If any were of this opinion, they exactly coincided with himself. At first he had intended to resign his office, with all its emoluments and toils [laughter]; and should have done so, had it not been that he was afraid that many who had usually heard the toast given from his lips would have been led to conclude that he had deserted the men who had never deserted the cause of public liberty [great cheers], and he was sure who never would, as long as they lived. [Continued applause.] Twenty

years had rolled away, marking the steady conduct, principle, spirit, and high talents of that Honourable Baronet, since he had called on the inhabitants of Westminster to elect him, and since he had been elected by an overwhelming majority. He looked back with pleasure on those days, because he was enabled still to see the same man in the Chair [Hear, hear, hear! and great confusion]—to declare his acknowledged principles, and appear as a standard for all the world. He, therefore, rejoiced in once more proposing the health of that Honourable Baronet; he hoped it would be proposed for many years to come, and that when all present would be removed in the course of nature, that the inhabitants of Westminster would ever afterwards maintain that independent spirit—that ardent and zealous love of liberty for which the Honourable Baronet had been so highly distinguished; [Hear!] and that they would be able to spread that love throughout the country, till England, Scotland, and Ireland, were convinced that it was the only effectual security for having a good Government. [Hear, hear!] He then proposed "The health of their Representative, Sir Francis Burdett, the great consistent advocate of the rights and freedom of the people, whose long and disinterested zealous exertions in their service entitled him to the gratitude and esteem of the country." [Loud cheers, waving of handkerchiefs, and great confusion for upwards of five minutes.]

Mr. COBBETT here mounted the table amidst great uproar, and often attempted to speak, but could not be heard.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT then rose, with a view to restore order, which only increased the confusion for upwards of a quarter of an hour. At last, on being permitted to speak, he said—If the Gentlemen present would only favour him for a short time, he hoped to be able to restore tranquillity. When a toast was proposed, every man present had a right either to drink that toast, or to object to it; the present was the only time at which an objection could be made to the toast that had been proposed; and it appeared to him (the Honourable Chairman) that it would be for the convenience of the Meeting, and better, in every point of view, with respect to Public Meetings, and to the characters of such Meetings in the eyes of the public, that any objections to be made should good-naturedly be heard. He knew that, as Chairman, he had no power except what the Meeting invested

him with; that power was to preserve regularity. If there was any irregularity, he trusted he should have power enough to subdue it; but so far nothing appeared to him irregular, and therefore he trusted the Gentleman who attempted to oppose the drinking of the toast, would be heard at this his only opportunity. [Applause.]

Mr. COBBETT then said, if the Meeting would observe the same silence while he addressed it that had been paid to Sir Francis Burdett, he would pledge himself to take up as little time as the Hon. Baronet had done. He was bold to say, that there were persons, and especially when he looked at his left hand (alluding to the great body of the Meeting), that there were persons present, and he believed the majority of the Meeting, who were anxious to object to the toast, as well as himself, unless they got an explanation of some very extraordinary circumstances which had made their appearance in public, within the last three weeks. The Electors of Westminster had expressed as much to him, and he would put it to the vote of the Meeting by and by, if the Honourable Chairman would allow him, who were for, and who against his proposition [great applause and confusion]. Every man had a right to be at this Meeting who had paid for his card—every man who was an Elector of Westminster especially; and surely he had some right to be here above children not born then, he having taken an active part in the very first election [very great confusion]. The Meeting would get nothing by their clamour. He would pledge himself that they did not go off without punishment one way or other for their clamour [much laughter, and continued applause]. The Gentlemen present might drink the health of a fellow with a pot of beer in his hand, and care not a farthing whether the Devil had that fellow or not in three minutes afterwards; but when a toast like the present was given, it was to go forth to the public as the solemn opinion, and the decided declaration of those who constituted the Meeting, and, in short, to stamp their characters, and the characters of the Electors of Westminster. By the toast Mr. Sturch had proposed, the Meeting approved of the principles of the present Government, as far as they could learn those principles, and the too apparent principles of Sir Francis Burdett [hear, hear! and great uproar]. For his own part, he totally disapproved of the conduct of their Representative; and if Mr. Sturch would

only permit him to make a slight addition to the toast, he would not trouble the Meeting a moment longer. The toast, in plain English, expressed approbation of the long-tried conduct of Sir Francis Burdett, as a friend of Parliamentary Reform—nay, and as a consistent man [much confusion]. He called upon the Meeting to be manly in their conduct, and to dare the world with the just and true addition which he should propose to the toast respecting their Representative, who now sat behind a man who, all his life long, as well as his family, according to his own declaration, had been sapping the public [great applause and confusion]. It was true that that individual had had a sinecure for the last thirty years. Sir Francis, he avowed, sat at the back of that man—countenanced that man—had pledged himself to support that man [hear!]. He maintained that that was the English of the toast. The family of that man had received 17,000*l.* or 18,000*l.* of the public money in pensions. He himself had received, in sinecures, about 18,000*l.* of the public money, and he was the implacable—the abusive—the scurrilous—the villainous—the calumnious, and the eternal enemy of Reform. [Confusion and applause, which lasted several minutes.] Add this to the toast, and he (Mr. Cobbett) would have no objection to its passing [much laughter]. Sir Francis Burdett, whose conduct had been applauded, namely, down to the present day, had now gone across the House and placed himself at the back of Canning the abuser—the mortal enemy of Parliamentary Reform; and yet Mr. Sturch applauded him for being consistent! At the very last Anniversary Sir Francis Burdett called the House of Commons a political Sodom [cheers and confusion]. Sir Francis now sat and said nothing; but he (Mr. C.) would repeat, that on this very day twelvemonth their Representative declared, in the very room in which they were now assembled, that the House of Commons was overwhelmed by a scum such as was never before found on the face of the earth [hissing and clapping]. The reason, he added, of this scum was, because so little of the public voice of the people was heard in that House, and because so few good men were found there—the House of Commons was a political Sodom. He (Mr. C.) said, therefore, that the Meeting could not, according to the cherished principles of Westminster, drink the present toast, unless they compromised those principles. Sir Francis Burdett had said, in allusion to Catholic Emanci-

pation, that all the Catholics were a parcel of rogues, and that they wished for Emancipation merely because they wanted to get into office; but he now slipped out from those declarations in the hope that he might get a Peerage, and walk up to the other House [uproar]. He begged the Meeting would not make a noise, or they would certainly frighten their Representative away [laughter]. In spite of the Meeting—in spite of their high obstreperous voices—before the face of the said Sir Francis Burdett—he would put his Amendment to the Meeting. Sir Francis Burdett had frequently declared himself to be the enemy of that House, which he considered to be a House of corruption, and the Meeting might swallow that for their comfort.

During the uproar, and when it was impossible for Mr. Cobbett to be heard, he turned towards the cross-table and said: "I think I see Mr. Wood, the Member for Preston, here. By way of interlude—Mr. Wood promised to take Mr. Canning by the beard, in the House of Commons; he must have meant to do so as a barber, for that is the only way he can or dare to do it." [Here it was intimated that Mr. Cobbett's Amendment was to be put from the Chair; but, after some delay, Sir F. Burdett's friends rose in a body, and drank the toast, with loud acclamations, mixed with the hisses and yells of the Cobbettites.] While the uproar continued, Mr. Cobbett turned towards his friends, and said, "He is afraid to put my Amendment, by G—d." Here the Gentleman who took the Amendment to the cross-table, returned, and said that the Chairman refused to put the Amendment, as it was literally nonsense.

Mr. COBBETT: "Nonsense, indeed! He is a pretty fellow to judge of nonsense; he is afraid to put it, by G—d."

The toast, as amended by me, stood thus, my amendment being in Italics;

"The health of our Representative, Sir

"Francis Burdett, the great consistent

"advocate of the rights and freedom of

"the people, whose long, disinterested,

"and zealous exertions in their service

"entitle him to the gratitude and esteem

"of the country;—yea, that very Sir

"FRANCIS BURDETT, who, for years

"past, has represented Mr. CANNING as

"the great champion of corruption;

"that very SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, who

"recently declared this Mr. CANNING to
"support the system of corruption for
"the sake of the public money, whilst
"he and his family got by it; that very
"SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, who now sits
"at the back of this same Mr. CANNING,
"and promises to support him, whilst
"this Mr. CANNING has the audacity to
"declare, to this SIR FRANCIS BUR-
"DETT's face, that he will oppose Par-
"liamentary Reform to the end of his
"Parliamentary life."

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT came forward, and attempted to address the Meeting, and stated that he had not altered a single iota of the opinions which he had formerly entertained on the question of Parliamentary Reform, and the other great political principles by which the freedom and happiness of this country might be promoted [some of Mr. Cobbett's party "We are not to be caught with chaff, Sir Francis"].

Mr. Cobbett still insisted that his Amendment to the toast should be put, and Sir Francis retired for a short time; but the tumult having somewhat subsided,

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT was anxious that every gentleman should, under the present circumstances, have the fullest opportunity for explanation; and it was, no doubt, on that account, that so much indulgence was shown to a few who appeared to have attended in that place, for the purpose of interrupting the proceedings of the evening; an indulgence such as he had seldom seen bestowed upon those who might be supposed to be more friendly to the general object of the Meeting. As Chairman of the Assembly, perhaps, he had been too slow in coming forward to correct the irregularity which had been introduced; but his apology was, that he was very anxious to remove all pretence for the false imputations, and gross misrepresentations in other places, of the nature, temper, and conduct of those who were now assembled to celebrate the Anniversary of the Triumph of Parity of Election in Westminster. But indulgence might be carried too far when they found their proceedings interrupted, and the most persevering attempts made to create confusion by a wretched inconsiderable Rump of a Junto [loud applause, and some cries of "no, no!"], who had proposed and supported this Amend-

ment. Amendments of this kind, if accepted and put from the Chair, would always put an end to all public proceedings, and to all harmony and social intercourse among Meetings of this description; and the reason that he had not put it from the Chair, when it was handed to him, was, that upon looking at it, he found that there was nothing at all in it, and that it was literally nonsense [Applause and laughter]. He had been reproached with having now set himself down at the back of Mr. Canning, who had so often declared himself to be the enemy of Parliamentary Reform. But in doing so, he had conferred a most important benefit on the public, and that was the only reason why he had done it. The immediate benefit conferred on the public was, that he had by that means done all in his power to exclude, and had assisted others in excluding from power, those Ministers who for so long a time, he might say ever since the year 1760—the period of the commencement of the reign of the late King—sat like an incubus on the breast of the country, and constantly threw the most serious, and even insurmountable obstacles in the way of improvement. When they could find a man of more enlightened mind, and power, and principles, than the present Minister, who might be able to bring his views and principles into operation in the conduct of public business, that man, no doubt, ought to be preferred; but, in the mean time, it was of the last importance that those who had been so long such a dead weight on the country; or worse, should, by all means, be prevented from returning to fix their talons again in the vitals of the nation [Loud applause and cheers]. If, after the experience which they had of him, of his principles, and his conduct, during the whole thirty years of his public life, they thought it necessary for him to make a formal defence against such accusations as were in this way preferred against him—if their confidence in him could be so easily shaken, then he must say that their confidence would not be worth having. But if any person, much more an elector of Westminster, wished to have an explanation from him, and came like an honest man and an Englishman, and a man of practical common sense, to ask it, he would most willingly give any explanation that might be required by such a person. During his whole public life, which began as soon as he could by law be permitted to sit in the House—during a period of thirty years, he had been the constant and earnest advocate of Parliamentary Re-

form, and the liberties of the people, and he trusted that he ever would continue to be the firm supporter of the liberties of his country to the latest hour of his life. Ever since he had been their Representative, he had acted upon the same principles, although he certainly seldom, if ever, alluded particularly to his own conduct. But at the same time, if any thing had occurred which might have rendered it necessary to call their attention to a subject that might be displeasing to them, he never would have hesitated to do his duty, whatever might be the consequence. What he now did, was merely to do the utmost in his power to prevent the unclean birds who had so long sat perched on the top of fortune, and maintained themselves there by means of a system of well-compacted corruption, from returning again to prey on the vitals of the country. Since their overweening confidence in their own strength and importance, or some other motive, whatever it might be, had induced them at last to take a flight, he certainly was willing to take advantage of so favourable a circumstance, and turn it to the highest account in promoting the best interests of the country. The course of policy, both foreign and domestic, which the present Ministers had pursued, was exactly opposed to that of their predecessors, and was calculated for the benefit of the country; and he had no hesitation in saying that he believed, from the existing circumstances of the country, we might be considered to be advancing towards the accomplishment of those great, those ultimate objects, for which they had so long been contending [applause]. The evil and the good sometimes appeared linked together; and the eyes of men who did not or would not accustom themselves to see all the links in the chain of causes and events, sometimes misled their masters, but he trusted they would not be permitted to deceive others [applause]. Every principle of freedom which the many had long supported against the few, whether relating to commercial, civil, or religious liberty, was now better understood throughout the country, and he believed more justly appreciated by the Government; for they were now, in a great measure, linked together; and he had no doubt that the time would come when they would be able to say to any Minister (and that would happen when the public at large were as truly enlightened as were the citizens of Westminster) [cries of "That will be one thousand years hence!"] "you shall" or "shall not adopt such a measure," accordingly as that measure

was calculated to effect public benefit or public injury. What he had often before asserted he would now repeat—that while the Government was upheld, as it long had been under former Ministers, by the Borough interest, it was impossible for any honest man to be a Minister. To him it was indifferent what Minister was in authority, if a certain set of measures, obnoxious to the interests of the people, were to be pursued; but he trusted, and believed, that such would not be the case with the present Administration, since the Right Honourable Gentleman could not hope to be supported, unless by the strength and influence of public opinion [applause]—a support which he could never expect to obtain, if he did not maintain those principles that in their operation would be beneficial to the public interests. He should apply the same rule both to a Representative of an enlightened city, and to a Minister placed in such circumstances as those which now existed, and he should say, avowing that grand and main principle of public conduct (not knowing whether he should slip into a Peerage or not, for the declaration) [a laugh], that both must exist on the good will, the affection, and the confidence, of their country [loud cheering]. That grand principle—that sound doctrine—such as the Electors of Westminster and himself had long done all in their power to promote; and which alone could give the hope of maintaining the liberties of all countries—namely, a fair representation of the people—he never should abandon [“aye, aye, stick to that and we’ll stick to you”]. In what he had done, he had neither manifested an intention of abandoning nor even of retarding it, and he said for himself, exercising his own unbiassed judgment upon the subject, that there was no act or step which he had or should take, that should ever divert him from the view of accomplishing that great end [“Then you only think you were right.”] That’s a matter of opinion. Well, if he was wrong, he is only wrong in opinion [cheers and laughter]. There were many great public men who had been in the habit of making the strongest and the warmest professions, and who had yet not kept them better than others; from these persons he should take a lesson, and feeling as he did, that he should not entitle himself more to their confidence by vaunting of his own powers, than by confessing the weakness of human nature, he should deal fairly by them; and say, that he did not mean to desert them, and he thought that when they disco-

vered he had broken his promise in that respect, and had deserted the cause of the People, it would be time enough for them to think of deserting him [loud cheers]; as he did not feel that he had ever shrunk from his duty, he knew that he should be excused among them if he had not exercised a perfectly correct judgment, when they saw that it had been his intention to have done so; and he could assure them, that it was upon that feeling that now, without the slightest misgivings of conscience, he appeared before them claiming their suffrages to his conduct with the most perfect confidence [applause]. He would recal recent circumstances to the memory of the Meeting, and he would ask whether there had not been a strong necessity, not for demanding whether, under the New Ministry, Reform should be carried (for at such a time it would have been silly to ask such a question;) but for deciding, and that at once, whether the enlightened part of the Administration, pressed as they had been by their less liberal colleagues, could support themselves without the union of those who had lately gone over to their assistance; or whether, with the conviction that they could not support themselves without assistance, that assistance should have been refused; and by its refusal have tended to restore to place and power, those Ministers, whose principles, if not themselves, had, since the beginning of the reign of George III.—since the year 1760, been the severest affliction to the people [cheers]? So true it was, that they had been so long the domineering principles of the Government, that the men who professed them seemed to consider office as their hereditary right, and the people, whose fathers had witnessed their uninterrupted possession of power, who had themselves never seen that power shaken, and whose children seemed likely still to groan under its influence, had almost begun to imagine that they were immovable—that having obtained power, the King must support them in the possession of it. That charm, that spell, was now broken: the old possessors of office had been driven out—their former colleagues, but their present rivals, had succeeded them; and the new Ministers being supported from quarters where the King had not expected assistance, and where they had not calculated on aid, they were by that unexpected support enabled to maintain themselves in their situations—and as they were indebted for it to public opinion, it was to be expected that they would act for the benefit of the public. It was impossible to doubt, that what he had stated

was the fact; it was impossible to deny that the late seceders from office had been so long in possession of it, that not only they, but the people, almost considered them as born to it, and had nearly lost the hope, though not the desire, of ever seeing a better system established [applause]. One great practical good had been effected in getting rid of that deep-rooted opinion, and of affording the people a better prospect. He had been accused of sacrificing every thing for the hope of obtaining Catholic Emancipation; he begged leave to deny the charge, and he would take that opportunity of saying that he was not particularly the advocate for the Catholics, but the friend of the great principle of religious liberty, the acknowledgment of which would secure to all men what he thought they ought to possess—the enjoyment of their civil rights, without any limitation on account of their religious opinions [cheers]. He thought it an unjust, an impolitic, and an indefensible act for any Government to say that any well conducted man within its dominions, who possessed talents that qualified him for office, should be excluded from it on account of his religious opinions [applause]. If the question of Catholic Emancipation should be carried, it would be an utter impossibility that any civil disability should continue to exist with respect to any other class of persons whose religious opinions did not coincide with those of the Church. In doing all he could to support that question, he was, therefore, advocating the extension of the principle of religious feeling in the fullest manner; and though the present head of the Administration was not actually pledged to carry the question, yet there could be no doubt that he would give it his utmost support. Of that question the Right Hon. Gent. had long been the able and powerful advocate; and though he (Sir F. Burdett) had, in other times and under other circumstances, been opposed to that Right Hon. Gent. in many great questions, yet, when he saw that, by supporting him, a more liberal policy than had heretofore been pursued might be expected to be followed, it was not easily to be seen how such support could dishonour the man who gave it—giving it, as he did, with no other view than that of advancing the great cause of public freedom, and liberating this country from the shackles of a faction that had long been the most determined enemies of liberty [applause]. In the field of political warfare he had often manifested feelings of considerable hostility to that Right Hon. Gent.; but surely there was no dishonour

in merging those feelings in others of a more kindly nature for the public good; indeed, in his opinion, it was the more meritorious to do in proportion as the feelings of hostility had been strong and bitter; and if the wish for the public service had not rode over the feelings of political hostility or personal enmity, he should have feared that his conduct would have required much apology, even if it had not been entirely indefensible. On these grounds, he had no doubt that the Electors of Westminster would feel perfectly satisfied with his conduct, and would thoroughly understand the principles on which he had acted. At the same time he would say, that he did believe they would never find him other than what he had been for the last twenty years; that he should never refuse to do all in his power to advance the interests of the people; that he should never be deterred from performing his trust in an upright and straightforward manner; and that, upon the whole, he hoped they would find his conduct to be such as they, of all men, were most capable of estimating; and in estimating, he trusted they would see good grounds of approval. But for the particular circumstances of that Meeting, he should not have said so much. He should, however, now abstain from going further; and having explained his own conduct, he should avoid discussing some of those great topics in which not only this country, but Europe and the world at large were interested. He had satisfied his own mind that he had done his duty as their representative; and as far as he could collect the feeling of those whom he was then addressing, he saw no reason to doubt that they gave him their unreserved confidence—a confidence which, he trusted, he should always be found to deserve, since he believed he should always act in such a manner as to be able to say, with the same boldness as at present, that he was perfectly ready to explain any part of his public conduct. The Hon. Baronet resumed his seat, amidst the loudest cheering, not unmixed, however, with cries of "It won't do;" "Very poor;" and similar expressions.

Mr. HUNT then appeared upon the Table, and was loudly greeted. Some opposition was at first manifested, but comparative silence having at length been obtained, he proceeded to say that he should not have offered himself to their notice, but for some of the observations which had fallen from the Hon. Baronet who had just addressed them.

He had heard that Hon. Baronet's speech with as much delight as any man there, and he went far, very far with him in the observations he had made. He went a great way with that Hon. Baronet, and all those who supported him. He agreed fully, as to the feeling of execration with which that Hon. Baronet had spoken of those Ministers who were now, thank God, out of office, and whom nineteenth-twentieths of the people rejoiced to see out [loud cheers]. The company whom he then saw assembled, had been called on in a most extraordinary way, for their opinion on the conduct of their Representative. [Here Mr. Hunt was interrupted by cries of a very discordant kind]. They were Englishmen—they were Westminster Electors; at least, he was one; and they were assembled there on a great occasion; he, for one, had taken part in the first election of Sir F. Burdett, and had been an invited guest to that dinner for eleven successive years, when, although he resided some distance in the country, he had never failed to attend; he was, therefore, one among them—one of themselves; and he hoped and trusted that all who conducted themselves as men and as gentlemen might be allowed freely to express their sentiments, whether in favour of, or against the conduct of their Representative, Sir Francis Burdett [cheers]. Towards that Honourable Baronet, he did not wish to use one harsh expression; but it was both necessary and proper to discuss his conduct freely and fully. They had not met there merely for the purpose of drinking the health of Sir Francis Burdett; but to support and advance those principles in which one and all agreed; and to advocate those opinions of which Sir Francis Burdett himself had been the forcible, the eloquent, the distinguished advocate for so many years. He agreed with the Honourable Baronet in the sentiment of the toast which had been proposed, that "a full, fair, and free Representation of the People in the Commons' House of Parliament," was "the only efficient remedy for all our national grievances;" and he would add, ought to be the *sine qua non* of any support afforded by the popular Representatives of the present Administration [applause]. Yet he was sorry to say, that although the Hon. Baronet was a supporter of Reform, he had joined the present First Lord of the Treasury, who was notoriously one of the most inveterate enemies of Reform; an union by which they—some of them, at least—himself, for instance, thought the Honourable Baronet had compromised the principles he ought to have supported [applause and disapprobation].

It was perfectly right for such an assembly of Englishmen as the present, particularly for such a body of Electors as he saw before him, to differ from him upon that subject. They differed from him at that moment; but he thought, that when they came to reflect on what had passed, and when they had heard him a little further, they would feel—as, indeed, the best friends of Sir Francis Burdett must feel—to rejoice that an opportunity had been afforded that Honourable Baronet of saying that which, if he had said before, and in Mr. Canning's teeth, perhaps the proceedings of this day never would have happened [applause]. They had been told by the public press, and had learned from other sources, that the Honourable Baronet had felt it his duty, and, no doubt, had felt it his conscientious duty, to support the present Administration, whom he thought more likely to carry into effect measures for the public benefit, being directed by a gentleman whom he believed to be a more enlightened, a more liberal, and a better man than any of those who had gone out of office. Now he confessed he was not fully satisfied with this explanation, although he entertained no unkindly feeling towards the Honourable Baronet [cheers and hisses]. He trusted they would hear what he had to say, and not let it go out to the world, that when the people of Westminster had been assailed, one of their number had been put down by clamour; for the greatest enemies of Sir F. Burdett, of themselves, and of the cause of Reform, would be more rejoiced at such a circumstance than at any other, since it would enable them to make a scorn of those supporters of freedom, who would put down a man without a hearing [cheers]. They had a right to ask why their Representative, the great agent of Reform, the great mover of that important question in this large city, should have joined a man who had always been opposed to it? What had that Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Canning) done to justify this confidence? Had he ever been the friend of the rights and liberties of the people? Had he for the last thirty years, on any one occasion, supported their privileges? On the contrary, had he not, on every occasion, been the first to oppose, with all his power, the success of those questions in which their great interests were involved [cheers, mixed with violent clamour]? He appealed to those around him, whether he had in the course of the evening interrupted any gentleman in expressing his opinions? [No, no.] Then he re-

quested that they would afford him equal justice, and listen to those sentiments which he felt it his right and duty to declare. They had been called on to say (and Sir F. B. Burdett had himself, as Chairman, put that question), whether they approved of his (Sir F. Burdett's) conduct up to that time? [Mixed cries of "Yes," and "No."] In what situation were they placed? [Cries of "not we but you."] They were told that the Right Hon. Gentleman now at the head of the Government was such an enlightened and liberal Minister, that he would bring about all those good things which the people had hitherto been accustomed to look for in any quarter but that of the administration. Had he (Mr. Canning) in any one part of his life, given any ground for such an opinion? Had he, during his recent possession of office, made one move towards it? [A voice, "No, because he has not had time."—Another, "He has in his foreign policy."] Oh! by all manner of means give him time. But before they were called on to support that Minister who had always been opposed to them, they ought to have better guarantees than mere anticipations. He was of opinion that the Hon. Baronet had acted most imprudently in joining the present Administration at this moment. The King had tried to make an Administration without the assistance of Mr. Canning; but, as might have been expected, he had failed in the attempt. He had desired Mr. Peel to form an Anti-Catholic Administration. Mr. Peel declared his inability to do so. He next applied to Mr. Canning to form a similar Administration. Mr. Canning also declared his inability to do so. Then what was the situation of Mr. Canning, when ultimately desired to form an Administration? Did any man believe that he would have been able to form an Administration which would stand a single week? [Yes, with the Ministers who have gone out.] But without them, could he have formed it, unless he had been joined by the Hon. Baronet and the other Members of the Opposition? [No.] Then could these Gentlemen have formed an Administration which would have lasted one week without the assistance of Mr. Canning? [Mixed cries of "No," and "Yes."] He thought they could; and then he said, that if they had not precipitately thrown themselves into the arms of Mr. Canning, he must have gone out, and they must have carried on an Administration formed by their own party, and governed by their own principles. At present he would ask, had they proposed

any guarantee by which they secured the carrying into effect the principles they had so long advocated? He would answer that they had not; but on the contrary, they had thrown themselves into the hands of their opponents, and surrendered at discretion. They had had the power of obtaining that guarantee—they could have made any terms they pleased; and if their terms had not been accepted, they themselves might have formed an Administration, and have come into the House, assured of the applause of that Meeting, and of the people of England [cheers]. If they had properly exercised the power they possessed, they might have compelled the Right Honourable Gentleman at the head of the Government to a declaration in favour of Reform as strong as any of those which he had previously made against it. And what he accused the Honourable Baronet of was, that he had not made those terms with the new Administration which he might have made when he promised to afford them his support—that he had changed his seat without even obtaining from the Right Honourable Gentleman an undertaking that he would cease to be the uncompromising enemy of Reform; and that, not having done this, he had not stayed in his place, and said something like that which he had addressed to the Meeting that evening [applause]. Those who supported the Hon. Baronet, he meant Mr. Brougham and Lord John Russell, the last of whom he believed to be present, had said in the House of Commons, that the country had been so well governed for the last few years, that the people now cared nothing about Parliamentary Reform. [cries of "No, no!"] Yet it was strange, if that were the fact, that between three or four thousand people should have said, at a meeting in Westminster, a few days since, that, without it, they could expect to do nothing whatever; and he trusted that the company whom he was then addressing, felt, and would express the same opinion, and would say, that without Reform and other measures were a mere farce—a mere delusion. Mr. Cobbett had merely proposed an Amendment to the terms of a toast to the health of Sir Francis Burdett; they were not assembled there to drink that Hon. Baronet's health merely as the Chairman of that Meeting; for if his health had been proposed only as the head of a convivial assembly, any man would have drunk it. ["Yes, all."] The proposal of that health, however, involved a great question [applause and hisses]. They gave him some signs, that

whatever he might say upon that question would not alter their opinions. ["Certainly not."] He thought they would always agree with him in cherishing those principles of public freedom which had always been nearest his heart. What had been done that day had been merely done for the advancement of those principles, in support of which he had thought it his duty to address them, and he was sure they would approve of his conduct, whether they agreed with him in opinion or not [loud applause].

Lord WM. RUSSELL wished to call their attention to the object of the Meeting, which was to celebrate, with honour and conviviality, that great cause which was, equally in his own heart as theirs, important beyond all other considerations—he meant the cause of Public Liberty [applause]. They met for that purpose, and not for discussion and debate [hisses]. Having said that, he did not mean to deny that a Representative ought not to be always open to the scrutinizing severity of the public at large. But there were times and seasons for all things; and it was not at the festive board that such discussions ought to be carried on. If it were thought right to express any opinion on the conduct of their Representative, they had still, thank God, as a remnant of the great public liberty of the country, the means of doing so, by convening a public Meeting, where they could canvass the conduct and character of any public man. And sure he was that there were none near him who would not bow to the decision of such a meeting, in whatever way that decision might affect themselves, since they fully acknowledged that toast which they had already drunk—that the will of the people was the only legitimate source of Government [cheers]. He had only now to propose the "health" of John Cam Hobhouse, Esq., their Representative, who was not more distinguished for the diligent assiduity and ability of his services, than for the unremitting integrity which he displayed in the discharge of his duty to his constituents [applause]."

The toast having been drunk with three times three,

[This is a sheer falsehood. I rose instantly, and prevented the health from being drunk. Hobby rose; but it was not to return *thanks*, but to obtain quiet in order that there might be an appearance of having had his health drunk.—W. C.]

The toast, as proposed by Lord William Russell, and as amended by me, stood thus :

LORD WILLIAM RUSSELL'S PART.

"The health of JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE, Esq., our Representative, who is not more distinguished for the diligent assiduity and ability of his services, than for the unremitting integrity which he displays in the discharge of his duty to his constituents ;

MY PART.

"and our best thanks to him, for the just character, which he once drew of the enemy of Reform ; and especially for his declaration, made during an Anniversary Dinner in this room, in 1818, that the same enemy was unworthy the notice of any rational man, and could only be respectable in the eyes of the meeting, as having been an object of the animadversion of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT ; and that he could assure the worthy Electors of Westminster, that, on no other account, would he, Mr. HOBHOUSE, have presumed, even for a moment, to mention that ABANDONED NAME."

Mr. HOBHOUSE rose to return *thanks*; but Mr. Cobbett, at the same moment, presented himself upon the table on the left ; and the cries of "Hobhouse, Hobhouse !" and "Cobbett, Cobbett !" were re-echoed through the room. Mr. Hobhouse stood as if patiently determined to obtain a hearing ; Mr. Cobbett appeared equally resolved to do so, at all events ; for, when cried down by the crowd, he kept addressing the persons immediately about him, and, at intervals, expressing to the "upper table," by sawing his arms, gnashing his teeth, and other significant motions, that he was not at all pleased with the opposition which he experienced.

The scene which now took place beggars all description. Mr. Hobhouse appeared still endeavouring to obtain a hearing ; but the screaming, howling, and hissing on the one hand, and the cheers and clapping of hands on the other, were almost deafening. The

Stewards rushed to the table upon which Cobbett stood, speaking at the utmost pitch of his voice to those around him. They pressed upon him and his friends, and endeavoured to force him from the table. A scuffle ensued, in which Mr. Cobbett's friends defended him stoutly; and having surrounded a corner in which he had placed himself, they resisted all attempts to come near him. Many white wands were broken, and many thumps and pushes were exchanged in the struggle; chairs were upset, bottles, glasses and decanters demolished, and many were prevented by the spilling of their wine from becoming more inclined for a Tom and Jerry row. Mr. Cobbett, in his addresses to those around him, frequently mentioned the name of Mr. Hobhouse, coupled with some epithets which did not reach us, but with which Mr. Hobhouse, to whom they were communicated, did not appear at all pleased. He approached that part of the cross table nearest to Mr. Cobbett, and told him distinctly that if he made use of those offensive expressions again, he would knock him down. As Mr. H. said this, he seized a wand from one of the Stewards, and was about to descend from the table, when Mr. Hunt, who had preserved the utmost coolness of temper during the evening, walked towards the table, and approaching Mr. H., said, "Mr. Hobhouse, I am, and always have been, your political opponent; but, as a friend, I should advise you to desist."

MR. HOBHOUSE: I know you are, Sir; but I am not speaking of you.

Sir F. Burdett and Mr. Bruce here approached Mr. Hobhouse, and induced him to resume his seat.

During this very disgraceful scene, the Chairman, and the Noble and Honourable Gentlemen around him had taken their hats, and were about to depart, but again resumed their seats.

Nothing could equal the Billingsgate language which was used upon this occasion.—"Go to H—," said Mr. Cobbett's friends. "Oh you old bone-grubber, why don't you pay Sir Francis Burdett his 3,000l.?" said one of the adverse party. "You wanted to make money of the bones," cried another; and then the "lie," and the more coarse expressions which usually follow in other places, were used in abundance here. In the midst of this confusion, Mr. Hobhouse repeatedly presented himself, and uttered a few sentences with a view to obtain a hearing, but they were completely drowned in the uproar which prevailed.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT again appeared upon the table, and as Chairman of the Meeting called upon them to preserve order. The call appeared, however, to be unanswered; the riotous confusion still prevailed, and at the end of a very warm altercation in Mr. Cobbett's corner, we observed him get upon the table with his waistcoat somewhat disordered, and his countenance exhibiting marks of ill-suppressed irritation.

Mr. HOBHOUSE renewed his attempt to obtain a hearing, and was for a few moments successful. He observed that every body must know, such dissensions as these were only grateful to the enemies of public liberty [applause]. He earnestly implored them to restore tranquillity to the Meeting, and then they would be able to judge of the conduct of their Representatives, who only demanded a fair hearing to be fully justified [applause]. If that fair hearing was afforded, he was sure every body would go home contented.—Here the scene of confusion was renewed, and after some little time,

Mr. WOOLER presented himself on the table, and said, if it was possible to reduce that chaos to order, if it was not intended to make that Meeting a very bear garden—if there were men there who had heads on their shoulders, and reason in their heads, he entreated them to be silent while he addressed them for a few moments. He had borne with feelings of disgust, which he could scarcely master, the scene which had just passed before him; but as there were circumstances which had called him from the political arena, and as the Judges of the land had denied him the *locus in quo* of any more than individual existence, he had at first hesitated whether he should address them. There were, however, circumstances which called on men, and almost on beings less than men, to perform their duty to the public. One great difficulty which the Chairman had felt, arose from the circumstance that he who filled the Chair was the person whose conduct was challenged; and his sense of delicacy in one way interfered with his sense of duty in another. It was not a little that would call him (Mr. Wooler) into action, but when the flag was hoisted he would rather go down with it, than yield the contest. He contended, that as the character of Sir F. Burdett, as their Representative, was the subject of discussion, the Hon. Baronet had had a right, if he was able, to show that his conduct was perfectly justifiable. No one could refuse to drink the health of the Honourable Baronet, even if he were

considered only as a veteran pensioner of the public service; this opposition to such a toast, without affording him an opportunity of explanation, would be *very* properly told them, that if he had not his own esteem, he would not care a farthing for theirs. After some further observations, he concluded by declaring, that those who would not hear Mr. Hobhouse, were not candid to their own cause.

Mr. HOBHOUSE denied that he was conscious of having done any thing to deserve the disapproval of his fellow-citizens—nor did he know of any charge which the Electors of Westminster could fairly bring against him. It was clearly the intention of the individual who had first introduced this dissension, to disturb and destroy the Meeting. If it was their pleasure that the Meeting should be immediately dissolved, in God's name let it be so; but if it was not, as they had never been put down by power, he trusted they would not suffer themselves to be put down by impudence. If after so many professions of public service and so many acts performed, public men were to be deprived of public confidence by attacks of this kind, there were no men of honour who would consent to become public servants. If any individual had any charge against him, let him come forward and make it, but no insults or interruptions of this kind should deter him from expressing his opinions. The voice of his conscience told him that he had never given a single vote differing from the opinions of a vast majority of his Constituents [applause, mixed with some disapprobation]. [At this part of Mr. Hobhouse's speech, the tables and benches, upon which he and his friends had stationed themselves, to the left of the Chair, gave way, and the whole party—bottles, decanters, glasses and all—went to the ground, with a sudden crash, to the no small delight of their opponents who laughed heartily at their fall.]

Mr. HOBHOUSE made some additional observations; but the clamour which prevailed rendered them totally inaudible, even to those immediately around him.

The CHAIRMAN having proposed the health of "Lord Nugent, and the Electors of Aylesbury," which was drunk with three times three.

LORD NUGENT said that he most sincerely and gratefully thanked them for that honour—an honour which he felt

perhaps the more, after the disastrous scene they had lately witnessed, to be trusted that he entertained a full estimate of the value of public character; but if his character had been suspended from such a quarter, he would not have condescended to answer it. He would at once name the person to whom he alluded, for he should be ashamed to use a word vaguely that might leave it open to be supposed that he meant any person but Mr. Cobbett. He owed it to his own feelings as an Englishman and a gentleman to say, that Mr. Cobbett had behaved both manfully and honourably, but Mr. Cobbett had conducted himself in such a manner, as, if he had any feeling at all, would make him feel the effects of that conduct the longest day of his life. The Noble Lord justified the conduct of Sir F. Burdett in supporting the present Administration, as it had enabled Mr. Canning to break the head of a faction, which, if admitted again into power, would only destroy the glory and interests of the country. So long as he (Lord Nugent) could carry a musket in the cause, he would enlist under the banners of any commander that would destroy such a faction. In the present instance he had done so, and his constituents had approved of his conduct. His Lordship here stated, that he had been returned by those constituents at their own expense. He was so situated that he could not bribe them if he would, and he would not if he could [cheers]. This, he had fairly stated to them, and upon those principles it was that he held his present seat. His constituents had presented to him, upon his entering Parliament, the receipts of the expense of that Election, which expense amounted to 32l. some odd shillings [applause]. He returned his sincere thanks, on the part of himself and his constituents, and he trusted that he should always be found at the side of the Hon. Baronet [applause].

Mr. WELLS, of Huntingdon, made some observations, preparatory to a motion of thanks to Earl Grey. The motion was objected to by the Chairman, solely upon the ground that the Noble Earl was not present.

Sir F. BURDETT next proposed the "health of a Noble Lord, who had uniformly and zealously advocated the cause of the People—he meant his Noble Friend Lord Ebrington." The toast was drunk with three times three [applause].

LORD EBRINGTON said, he rose with feelings of the utmost gratitude, to re-

turn thanks for the distinguished honour which the Meeting had done him. But at that late hour, and considering the disgraceful interruptions which had taken place in the course of the evening—considering, too, that there were many gentlemen around him more capable of addressing the Meeting than he could pretend to be, his address should not detain them more than a few moments. He could not, however, do justice to his own feelings—he could not do justice to those Honourable Friends with whom he had so long and so invariably acted, if he did not avail himself of the occasion, when the Honourable Chairman's conduct was assailed, to render to him the humble tribute of his respect and gratitude for the whole of his Parliamentary conduct [cheers]; and he must be allowed to say, for no part of it more than that which was at present called in question [loud applause, mixed with disapprobation]. Further, he would say, that whatever meed of praise or of blame was dealt out to the Hon. Baronet, he (Lord Ebrington) must, in a small degree, take his share. If he had been asked whether the present Administration was precisely such a one as he should wish to see formed, his answer would be—certainly not. But that was not the question brought under his consideration. What, he asked, was the choice left to him? What was the option left to the party with which he had the honour of acting? Why, that they must support the new, and in many instances liberal, Administration, recently established—or else they must, by turning them out, reinstate the Ex-Administration, and thereby give effect to that which had been well described by an Hon. Friend of his in the House of Commons—to be Toryism in its most hideous form [cheers]. He and his friends had been asked if they still adhered to the great questions of Civil and Religious Liberty—if they still adhered to the question of Reform? He said that they did? and for himself he would also say, that if his retaining his former seat could have advanced both or either of these questions, he would have sat there to the end of his days [cheers]. But was he, because he could not obtain all he wished, precluded from getting all he could? [Cries of "No, no!"] He never did, and he never would, vote against any question which had for its object the extension of civil and religious liberty; but while he said this, he felt that it was but fair to give a trial to a liberal Administration. In that trial the Administration might succeed, or they

might fail; but in either event, something must be gained. If it succeeded, then, to use the words of his Hon. Friend (the Chairman) in another place, the High Tory faction, who had so long fattened over us, would be made to feel that their power was not omnipotent either in the possession or in public domination [cheers]. But, should the Administration fail, or should he and his friends find that in the course of the next Session nothing had been gained in support of civil or religious liberty, then he would say that he should retire disappointed, but still with a clear conscience—with a decided feeling that he, and those who acted with him, had used their utmost efforts to advance those great public principles which they had through life supported [cheers]. He had always had the happiness to agree with their Honourable Chairman, upon all public occasions; but upon none was he more proud of agreeing with him than upon the present occasion [applause]. He thanked the meeting for the kind and patient attention with which they had heard him, and requested pardon for having so long detained them. He begged to conclude with a repetition of the kind sense he entertained of the honour paid to him [applause].

Sir F. BURDETT next proposed "the health of Lord John Russell;" but the noise in the room (which we must here, once for all, observe was more worthy of Hockley-in-the-Hole, or the *Westminster Pit*, than any place we have ever yet described), was so great that not a single word could be heard beyond the Noble Lord's name.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL rose to return thanks, but his Lordship was, from the causes already assigned, for a short time inaudible. He had come, he said, solely for the purpose of testifying his regard and admiration of the character of their Representative and Chairman [cheers]. It appeared to him, that the question to be tried there that day was, whether the Honourable Baronet's conduct had been such as to merit the approval of his Constituents—the Electors of Westminster. He (Lord J. Russell), judging from the feeling which he had seen expressed in that room, must say, that the principles of the Honourable Baronet had been fully approved of by the Meeting [cheers, mixed with some disapprobation from the left corner of the room]. The Noble Lord, adverting to the two great questions brought under discussion—namely, Parliamentary Reform and a

Reform of the Administration—observed that the question was, whether they were to have certain liberal measures brought forward and supported without any pledge upon the question of Reform, or, whether they were to have the domination of a Ministry who would oppose every liberal and enlightened measure, but Reform most of all [cheers]? For his own part, he thought it would be better to preserve the present Administration without any pledge, than to recur to the whole of the old one without any hope [cheers]. He had always supported Reform, but he had always maintained, that an Opposition to Reform did not necessarily imply the existence of a good Minister; the evil was the other way, because a bad Minister necessarily implied an opposition to all Reform. The Noble Lord concluded by the most cordial approval of the Honourable Chairman's conduct [applause].

The CHAIRMAN proposed "the health of Mr. W. Paulet Thompson, and the Reformers of Dover," with three times three [applause].

Mr. W. P. THOMPSON returned his most grateful thanks for the honour done him, and begged to say a few words, and few he assured the Meeting they should be, because he felt, first, that if he were to give expression to his sentiments, he should only repeat that which had been more ably said by those who had preceded him; and, secondly, because he could not presume to expect a hearing, when the Meeting had refused to attend to their Honourable Representative, Mr. Hobhouse. In alluding to the interruption which took place, he acquitted the Meeting collectively of any such intention, but he charged it upon one individual, upon whose head it must and ought to rest. The Honourable Gentleman, after professing himself to be a decided friend to freedom and liberal opinions in their most extended terms, concluded by again thanking the Meeting for the honour they had done him.

Sir F. BURDETT, in rising to propose the only toast which remained, wished, before he retired to give an explanation of something which had been said in the course of the evening. If Mr. Hunt had been in the House of Commons, when he (Sir F. Burdett) stated the grounds upon which he had determined to support the present Administration, he would have heard him utter precisely the same sentiments which he had uttered that evening [cheers]. He said this,

meeting to prevent its going abroad that he had had different opinions in different places [loud applause]. The Toast was—"The Liberty of the Press," with three times three [applause].

Mr. WOOLER rose to return thanks, and, in the course of his speech observed, that he considered Mr. Canning to be like an overgrown eel, that, having got out of the reservoir into the current, was obliged to go along with that current, because, if he would, he could not rejoin his companions in the reservoir.

Sir F. Burdett, and those immediately around him, retired at eleven o'clock. They had scarcely left the room, when a discussion took place as to who was to take the Chair. After a great deal of noise and clamour,

Mr. WOOLER was ultimately voted Chairman for the remainder of the evening, during which there was as much noise, to say the least of it, as had prevailed at any earlier period. Mr. Cobbett, in retiring, was not treated with all the kindness he could wish, but he and his friends bore the pushes and elbows which they received, with comparative meekness. The noise (we cannot say the hilarity) of the evening was kept up to a late hour.

TULIP-TREE WOOD.

I HAVE just received from America about sixteen hundred feet of tulip-tree plank, two inches and a half thick; and I believe, and all carpenters that have seen it agree with me, that this is the finest lot of plank that ever was seen in England since England was England. Some of the planks are fourteen feet long, each, and between three and four feet wide; and there is not, in the whole lot, one single curl or one single knot. The planks are

just, as wide at one end as at the other. I shall advertize them for sale next week. I have a great desire to introduce this tree into extensive use in England. If properly raised and cultivated, it will grow as fast and get to as great a height and be as straight here as in America; and it has appeared to me that the most likely way of inducing gentlemen to plant the tree is to let them see with their own eyes a specimen of the timber. The tree will grow more than a hundred feet high: I have seen it more than a hundred feet high, many times; and, if raised from seed, it will attain that height here as well as in America; but from *layers*, as it is raised in the nurseries, in general, it is always merely a *branch of a tree*, and

will never attain to any thing of a height or ~~size~~. ~~Bonsart~~ says, that as a man of common sense, he would achieve something during his life-time; now, I think, that if I succeed in introducing this noble tree into England, as I hope to do, I shall be doing something much more worthy of common sense than he will, though he should get somebody to give him a title, and so creep off on his hands and knees away from us.

N. B. For want of room, I am obliged to postpone the insertion of the Resolution, spoken of in the foregoing Letter, until next week.

MARKETS.

**Average Prices of CORN through-
out ENGLAND, for the week end-
ing May 11.**

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat	56	8	Rye	39	2
Barley	89	4	Beans	49	2
Oats	30	3	Pease	47	0

**Total Quantity of Corn returned as
Sold in the Maritime Districts, for
the week ended May 11.**

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat	41,824	Rye	263
Barley	7,247	Beans	1,304
Oats	8,863	Pease	628

**Aggregate Average of the six weeks
preceding May 18, by which im-
portation is regulated.**

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.
Wheat	56	3
Rye	39	7
Barley	39	0
Oats	30	7
Beans	47	6
Pease	47	6

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

**Quantities and Prices of British
Corn, &c. sold and delivered in
this Market, during the week ended
Saturday, May 11.**

	Qrs.	s.	d.	Average	s.	d.
Wheat	4,847	14,916	13 10	61	6	
Barley	1,104	2,239	18 9	40	6	
Oats	2,432	4,019	7 1	33	0	
Rye	14	25	7 2	36	2	
Beans	429	1,140	9 3	47	7	
Pease	98	228	13 1	46	7	

**Friday, May 18.—There are fair
arrivals of most kinds of Grain this
week, and a good quantity of English
Flour and Foreign Oats. Wheat**

meets a dull sale, at Monday's prices. In Barley, Beans, and Pease, there is no variation. Most of our buyers are waiting till Monday before they purchase Oats, as the Foreign are then expected to be liberated, at the low duty. There is no alteration in Flour.

Monday, May 21.—During the preceding week the supplies of most kinds of English Grain were moderate, and of Foreign Oats very large. The quantity of Flour was also considerable. To this day's market, the fresh arrival of Wheat from Essex and Kent, is better than for several weeks past, but there is very little Spring Corn of our own growth fresh in to-day. The attempt to raise the top price of Flour having entirely failed, the Wheat trade has, in consequence, become very dull, and the prices are declined 1s. to 2s. per qr. from the terms of this day se'nnight.

Barley is scarce, and the prices remain as last quoted. Beans and Pease continue without alteration. The Foreign Oats being permitted to enter at 4d. per qr. duty, there is now abundance of Horse Corn for sale; and although there has been a good attendance of country buyers, yet they have not bought freely, and the prices are declined 1s. to 2s. per quarter, from the terms of this day se'nnight. All kinds of Seed meet a very heavy sale.

Price on board Ship as under.

Flour, per sack	44s. — 44s.
— Seconds	42s. — 41s.
— North Country	40s. — 43s.

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. Loaf is stated at 9d. by the full-priced Bakers.

COAL MARKET, May 18.

<i>Ships at Market.</i>	<i>Ships sold.</i>	<i>Price.</i>
133.	244.	28s.—42s.

Account of Wheat, &c. arrived in the Port of London, from May 14 to May 19, both inclusive.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat	4,576	Tares	150
Barley	498	Linseed	2,012
Malt	5,849	Rapeseed	1,592
Oats	1,538	Brank	164
Beans	544	Mustard	27
Flour	9,533	Flax	—
Rye	38	Hemp	4
Pease	912	Seeds	16

Foreign. — Wheat, 789; Barley, 10,567; Oats, 48,478; Beans, 790 quarters.

Monday, May 21.—The arrivals from Ireland last week were, 108 firkins of Butter, and 5085 bales of Bacon; and from Foreign Ports, 6,651 casks of Butter. The demand continues to take all the Foreign Butter on arrival. Bacon continues without any material alteration.

HOPS.

Price of Hops, per Cwt. in the Borough.

Monday, May 21.—The bad prospects in the Hop plantations have been increased by the arrival of considerable quantities of fly, which has caused this morning a rapid rise in both bags and pockets. Many people anticipate a similar result, from this early attack, to what we experienced in 1825. Duty called, 95,000*l*.

Maidstone, May 17.—Our accounts are better every day from the change of weather, and the Bines are generally much improving, with less frost. We have had a few sales this last week, though at not much better prices.

Worcester, May 16.—The easterly winds and frosty nights having given the plants an unkindly appearance, prices rose in our market on Saturday 3*s*. to 4*s*. per cwt. The duty is down to 105,000*l*.

SMITHFIELD.

Monday, May 21.—On Friday Beef obtained the prices of the preceding market; but Mutton fell *ix*. to 2*s*. a-head; in Lamb no alteration. The supply of Beasts to-day is short, but there will, notwithstanding, be many unsold. In Sheep there is a considerable decline from last Monday, say 3*s*. and 4*s*. a head; with a heavy trade. The best polled Sheep, in few instances, reach a crown, and old Downs do not exceed 5*s*. 2*d*., both out of the wool. Lamb is also lower; and very few obtain our top figure; 6*s*. to 6*s*. 8*d*. is about the thing for good Lamb; but middling is very heavy in sale.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	4	0	5	2
Mutton	4	0	5	2
Veal	4	8	5	4
Pork	4	6	5	2
Lamb	6	0	7	0
Beasts	2,014		Sheep	19,780
Calves	158		Pigs	110

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	8	4	6
Mutton	4	4	5	4
Veal	3	4	5	4
Pork	3	8	5	8
Lamb	4	8	6	8

LEADENHALL, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	8	4	6
Mutton	3	4	5	0
Veal	3	8	5	4
Pork	4	4	5	4
Lamb	4	0	6	10

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS, per Ton.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>
Ox-Nobles.....	3	10	to	0 0
Middlings.....	2	5	—	0 0
Chats.....	2	0	—	0 0
Common Red..	3	10	—	0 0
Onions, 0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.				

BOROUGH, per Ton.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>
Ox-Nobles.....	3	10	to	4 5
Middlings.....	2	0	—	2 10
Chats.....	2	0	—	0 0
Common Red..	3	0	—	4 0

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield:—Hay....90s. to 115s.

Straw...36s. to 45s.

Clover. 100s. to 135s.

St. James's.—Hay... 70s. to 120s.

Straw .. 39s. to 46s. 6d.

Clover. 115s. to 140s.

Whitechapel.—Hay.... 80s. to 120s.

Straw...36s. to 42s.

Clover...90s. to 135s.

AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN, sold in the Maritime Counties of
England and Wales, for the Week ended May 11, 1827.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
London*	60	2	40	5	34	2
Essex	58	9	39	10	31	3
Kent.....	57	9	41	0	31	0
Sussex.....	53	9	0	0	30	7
Suffolk	56	0	37	2	31	10
Cambridgeshire.....	52	11	35	4	27	6
Norfolk	54	10	37	0	27	0
Lincolnshire	55	9	40	1	26	9
Yorkshire	55	1	41	6	28	0
Durham	55	7	43	5	29	4
Northumberland	54	4	38	5	31	10
Cumberland	64	2	39	8	35	2
Westmoreland	62	4	40	0	41	6
Lancashire.....	61	0	43	5	34	0
Cheshire	63	6	0	0	28	9
Gloucestershire.....	56	9	43	5	41	10
Somersetshire	54	2	0	0	29	1
Monmouthshire.....	56	11	44	6	0	0
Devonshire.....	55	6	39	7	33	0
Cornwall.....	62	7	41	0	37	11
Dorsetshire	55	1	39	9	0	0
Hampshire	55	10	41	5	31	2
North Wales	65	6	45	8	30	8
South Wales	62	4	49	8	27	1

* The London Average is always that of the Week preceding.

Dorchester, May 19.—Our market this week was but thinly attended, and but little business done; prices for all sorts of Grain nearly as before:—Best Wheat, 60s. to 65s.; Barley for malting, 44s. to 47s.; Grinding ditto, 38s. to 42s.; Oats, 32s. to 40s.; and Beans, 52s. to 62s. per eight bushels Imperial measure.

Horncastle, May 19.—Wheat, Barley, and Rye fully obtained last week's prices, and Oats nearly the same. Wheat, 56s. to 60s.; Barley, 40s. to 42s.; Oats, 26s. to 30s.; Beans, 60s. to 63s.; and Rye from 40s. to 44s. per quarter.

Ipswich, May 19.—Our supply to-day was small, but equal to the demand. The sale was dull, at rather less prices.—Wheat, 54s. to 63s.; Barley, 36s. to 41s.; and Beans, 49s. to 51s. per quarter.

Manchester, May 19.—The Corn trade has been in an inanimate state during the week, owing partly to the result of the Bill now in the House of Lords, whether there will be any alteration in the existing laws. At our market to-day, fine Wheat was difficult of sale, at last week's rates; inferior unsaleable. Barley, for grinding purposes, 3d. per bushel lower. Oats of fine quality barely support the prices of last Saturday. Beans are in limited supply, but no alteration in value can be noted. Malt in fair demand; and, if our manufacturing trade continues to improve, the result will be a proportionate demand for Malt. The dealers in Flour have not experienced such a lively demand as was anticipated, but last week's prices have been fully supported, and, in a few instances, a small advance has been obtained.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, May 19.—The Wheat at this morning's market was confined to the farmers' supply, with some samples from granary, and the millers being short of stock, the sale was brisk, at 1s. per quarter advance upon the prices of last week. The malting season being over, Barley is dull sale, at last week's prices. The farmers' supply of Oats was small, and not having any foreign arrivals of consequence this week, the sale has been tolerably free, at last week's prices.

Norwich, May 19.—We had only a moderate supply of Wheat to-day, prices nearly the same as last week.—Red, 52s. to 53s.; White to 61s.; Barley, only a few small parcels, 34s. to 40s.; Oats, 28s. to 31s.; Beans, 43s. to 48s.; Pease, 44s. to 48s.; Boilers, to 52s. per quarter; and Flour, 42s. to 43s. per sack.

Reading, May 19.—We had a moderate supply of Wheat this day, which was heavy in disposal, on the same terms as last week. There was a short supply of Barley, but no alteration in the price. Beans were 1s. dearer. In Oats and Pease no alteration, and very little doing.

Bristol, May 19.—The Corn markets at this place are not lively for any description of Grain. Supplies by no means great, yet equal to the demand.

Wimbech, May 19.—We had a good supply of Wheat here to-day, which went off slowly, at a decline of 1s. per quarter; Oats are also 1s. lower; but fine Beans exceed the late quotations 2s. per quarter.

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Horncastle, May 19.—Beef, 9s. per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton, 6d. to 7d.; Lamb 8d.; Pork, 7d.; and Veal, from 8d. to 9d. per lb.

Manchester Smithfield Market, May 16.—Although the supply of Beef and Mutton was not so large as last week, yet it was fully equal to the demand, and the best quality of the former declined full $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb.; the latter with difficulty support last week's rates. The few Calves at market were very fine, and $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. advance was paid for the best. The supply of Pigs was principally Irish, and bought at rather less price for store. We had a plentiful supply of Lambs, the principal part of which were sold at $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. below the price of this day se'nnight.—Beef, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Mutton, 7d. to 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Lamb, 9d. to 10d.; Veal, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; and Pork, 4d. to 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb., sinking offal.

At *Morpeth Market*, May 16th, there were a good many Cattle and Sheep; being few buyers, both met with dull sale, at a reduction in price, and part of both were not sold.—Beef, from 7s. to 7s. 6d.; Mutton, 8s. to 9s. 4d. per stone, sinking offal.

Norwich Castle Meadow, May 19.—The supply of fat Cattle to this day's market was good, prices 7s. 9d. to 8s. 6d. per stone of 14 lbs., sinking offal; the supply of Store Stock, of all descriptions, was very large, and the sale of them very dull; Scots sold at 4s. to 4s. 6d. per stone of what they will weigh when fat; Shorthorns, 3s. to 3s. 9d.; Cows and Calves selling rather better; Homebreds, of one and two years old, hardly saleable. Pigs, a flat sale, fat ones to 7s. 6d. per stone.—Meat: Beef, 7d. to 9d.; Veal, 6d. to 8d.; Mutton, 6d. to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Lamb, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; and Pork, 6d. to 8d. per lb.



"Lord Castlereagh found that he was wrong, and he died of a broken heart. But it was not unprosperous external affairs of his country which destroyed him. It was the unmeasured and unmitigated ruin which he saw at home. I KNOW that he saw it; and I may ALMOST say, I KNOW THAT IT KILLED HIM."—THOMAS ATTWOOD'S LETTER TO SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, DECEMBER, 1825.

BANONET.—Cleary, thy faith and love full well I know;
But, so low my fortunes, that Atlas self
Unable were to keep me 'bove contempt.
Farewell, a long farewell to all my pride!
Farewell huzzas, farewell big sounding speech!
Farewell the toasts, the flattery of Rumps,
And all the pomp and circumstance of Dining!
Crown and Anchor, scene of all my triumphs,
Oh! farewell!

COBBETT'S WESTMINSTER TRAGI-COMI-FARCE, WRITTEN
IN LONG ISLAND, 11TH SEPT. 1818.

OLD LADY AND SIR GLORY.

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Fleet Street, 30th May, 1837.

MY FRIENDS,

Two great personages are now before us: the Old Lady of Threadneedle-street, and the old badgered and battered Sir Glory,

whom some of us had standing before us, on the 28d of this month, in the character of a political culprit, wriggling, twisting, shuffling, whimpering and canting, till even his own hired and stuffed

T

ruffians seemed to be ashamed of the exhibition. I did not, in my last Register, do half justice to this dismal old wreck of a pretended patriot; and I intended to make up, in the present Register, for the omission. Something more about the old battered hack and his myrmidons and hangers-on I must say in the present Register; but, just as I was setting to work this morning; or, rather, thinking about setting to work upon him, in came the *Morning Chronicle*, containing the Bank of England CIRCULAR (as it is stated to be), which I shall presently insert, and which, if Burdett had two grains of sense in that noisy head of his, would make him see how slippery is the ground on which he stands; how uncertain the tenure of whatever he may expect to get from Canning; how far from being as solid as the foundations of the hills, is even the title of that estate which he values, apparently, beyond his soul itself. This great, gawky personage, speaking last year to a gentleman that I know, said, "Cobbett may say what he will, "but it is all d—d nonsense to "suppose that, with all the increased wealth of this country, "there can be gold and silver "enough found to carry on its

"affairs: there must be plenty of "paper-money."

The great oaf did not perceive, apparently, that it was ~~not~~ the quantity of money, but the price of things that he ought to have kept in his eye. Only think what a fool a fellow must be; only think what a pretty law-giver, to imagine that money ought to be increased as the quantity of goods is increased. At that rate, there must be an additional parcel of money issued in consequence of a great harvest or a great crop of apples. But, it is waste of time and an insult to you, my friends, to give any serious answer to such a staring fool, who is just as fit as that fish-woman that I see now, going along the street with a basket of mackerel; who is just as fit as she is to suggest means for the putting of this troubled state of things to rights. He seems to understand not one single sound principle connected with the subject; he is notoriously too lazy to go into the detail, even if he understood the principles; and, if he had all the other requisite qualities, he wants the courage, the steadiness, the political pluck, to make even a slight attempt to carry any necessary measure into execution.

But, before I proceed any fur-

ther on this part of my subject, let me beg of you, my friends, to look at this new project of the Old Dame of Threadneedle-street. The newspapers tell us, that she has sent it round in the way of a friendly proposal to the principal country-bankers in England. However, here it is: read it with attention, if you please, and, then, I beg you to listen, for a moment, to a remark or two that I have to make upon the subject.

(CIRCULAR.)

"Assuming it to be desirable to retain a paper money currency convertible on demand, the great question for consideration is, how that paper money can be so regulated as to afford the greatest security for receivers, both as regards the solidity of the issuer, and the power of obtaining coin for the same on demand.

"In order to obtain those objects, it is necessary, in the first instance, to free the paper money, as far as may be possible, from the effects of what has been termed panic. In a great commercial country like this, periods of speculation and overtrading may frequently arise; still, no event of that nature ought, under proper regulation of the currency, to affect the credit of the paper money, the discredit of which has hitherto tended very greatly to aggravate the evils which we have in such times

sustained. Now, under the present system of issues by the Bank of England, and the country bankers, there is the greatest difficulty, amounting almost to an impracticability, of so regulating the paper money currency as to attain the objects immediately referred to. The conflict of action and interest between these two description of issues is the main difficulty; the fact being that, as prices expand, and even where the notes are returning upon the Bank for gold to be exported, the issues of the country bankers are extending, and are never attempted to be withdrawn, until the Bank makes an evident demonstration to the country of contracting from a continuance of the drain upon that establishment for gold. That action, though of the most trifling amount, immediately lays the foundation of alarm, and the paper money issued by the country bankers becomes discredited, before they can be provided to meet the run upon their establishments. Stoppage is the consequence with many; and although they may eventually realize sufficient assets to meet their engagements to the actual holders of the notes, yet the country has to sustain all the evils attendant on the first discredit, and which no final payment can ever alleviate. It is in this state of discredit, attending the *private* paper money currency, that the Bank of England is looked to, not only for gold in exchange for its own notes, but also to supply an almost instan-

taneous demand to a very great extent on the part of those country bankers who have the command of funded or other tangible property to offer as security, the magnitude of which internal demand for gold actually places the Bank in the greatest possible danger, and with that danger the credit of the country is placed at hazard.

"It may, perhaps, be deserving of consideration, whether the hazard and difficulties of our present system might not be obviated by confining the issue of the paper money currency to one body of undoubted solidity; and believing that such a measure, if practicable, could not be so satisfactorily carried into effect as by the Bank of England, under proper and efficient parliamentary regulations, it is proposed that the paper of that corporation should be that alone permitted to circulate. There could, however, be no objection to the substitution of any other body of equal credit, which might be deemed more advantageous for the country. In thus limiting the issue to one body, the accommodation and advantage derived by the public from the country banks ought to be preserved as far as may be practicable; and which, it is presumed, might be effected by continuing in that channel the issue of the paper money proposed to be adopted, in such manner and at such rate of interest as may afford a fair proportion of the advantage which the country bankers

have for so many years been permitted to enjoy in their own circulation. It remains, therefore, to be shown, in what mode a plan of that nature could be adopted.

"The advantage hitherto derived by the country bankers upon their issues may be estimated at 5 per cent. per annum; from which, however, should be deducted:—

"1. The expense of printing, issuing, &c.

"2. The stamp duty.

"3. The interest on the amount of Bank of England paper, or bullion, which they ought to keep to meet returns.

"4. *The risk of loss in times of general discredit of private paper money, upon realizing funded or other property, which under the present system has generally occurred once in four or five years; and there appears no reason to suppose that it will occur less frequently hereafter.*

"These deductions may be fairly estimated at from .2 to 3 per cent. per annum, the residue-forming the amount of net profit. It might therefore be proposed that every country banker, withdrawing his own paper circulation, should receive that of the Bank of England to the same amount at a reduced rate of interest, giving to that corporation security for such issue; one-third of which should be in bills of exchange, or other convertible securities, which, in the event of a contraction becoming necessary to correct the ex-

changes, might be withdrawn by the Bank upon three months' notice, in sums not exceeding 5,000*l.* in succession; and any sums so withdrawn should, if required, be again re-issuable in the same manner, and upon the same terms. The remaining two-thirds to be a permanent advance upon funded or landed property, during the term of the Bank charter, at the option of the borrowers.

"The country bankers would thus derive the full benefit between the rate of interest paid to the Bank, and that which they would obtain from their borrowers, free from all anxiety arising from panics, and from other causes discrediting private paper money. There might, perhaps, be some little difficulty in laying down regulations for keeping up this system upon the dissolution of existing country establishments: that difficulty might, in all probability, be got over when the details of the plan came to be considered.

"The Bank paper thus proposed for circulation might be issued from the branch banks established in central parts of the country, affording the facilities of exchange, and payment in coin when demanded; and from which branch banks any further issue might be made upon discount at the current rate of interest, which might be required *by the expansion of prices, so long as the exchanges were in favour of the country*; thus affording at all times a full and efficient currency. In order to give

the desired effect to a plan of this description, it would be essential to obtain the concurrence of the majority of the country banking interest, and which, from a *limited inquiry that has been made, it is thought would be given, provided no material difficulty arose in arranging of details.* And, finally, to give stability to the system, the Bank of England should be required to publish in the Gazette every quarter, the amount of notes in circulation, with the bullion, and securities in deposit, that the public might be apprised of any fluctuation in either paper or bullion which might occur, and which publication would, it is conceived, be a sufficient security against any undue use of the power thus placed in the hands of the bank.

"It is presumed, that by the foregoing plan all the advantages and convenience of the country bank establishments might be retained, and permanent solidity be given to our paper money currency, no contraction ever being likely to occur, except in the event of a continuance of an unfavourable exchange; and the consequent return of paper upon the Bank and its branches for gold to be exported, which return of paper, if not improvidently re-issued by the Bank, would in all probability be sufficient to correct the exchanges, and bring back the gold which might have passed abroad. If the demand, however, for gold should at any time be very rapid and extensive, it might, possibly, in such case, require some trifling check, either by contraction

of the paper circulating throughout the country; or by a limitation of the mercantile discounts at the Bank, the effect of which would be to contract at an early period that part of the currency which may be termed collateral—viz. bills of exchange and credits; thus lowering the prices of commodities, so as to render them cheaper articles of payment to the foreigner than the bullion previously required.

"If, upon giving this subject the fullest consideration, it *should be deemed objectionable*, to confine the issue of paper money to one body, *it appears to be doubtful whether any real and effectual security can be given against the recurrence of the evils we have so lately sustained.* So long as the Bank and the *many* exist together, so long will the latter always rest upon the former in the day of distress and discredit; and from what has hitherto so frequently occurred, it may be confidently asserted, that under the great existing state of our paper money, the Bank, continuing to act as heretofore, must *necessarily incur the greatest risk of stoppage, and thereby place at hazard the very credit of the country.*

"In considering the preceding statement, the following principle should be admitted:—that all supposed vested interests either in the Bank of England or other establishments issuing paper money, should be deemed subservient to the national interests; consequently the security of general property should form the

only object of consideration in any plan for *substituting paper money for coin.*"

The first thing to observe on is this; that this circular must have been put forth *with the concurrence of the Ministers*; because, that which it proposes, cannot be carried into effect, without the concurrence of the Ministers and the Parliament. For instance, it proposes that the old mother-bank should supply all her young devil-banks with paper-money. This she cannot do, *without a new Act of Parliament*, because she herself cannot, now, according to law, *make small paper-money*; so that, it is clear as day-light, that she must have had the sanction of the Government before she sent forth this circular. Judge, then, my friends, what a pretty state we are in; judge you of this "solid system of finance," as flabbergaster Pitt used to call it; judge you of the "*mountain of paper*," the base of which, according to "the great" Mr. Canning, the "liberal" Mr. Canning, the "*enlightened*" Mr. Canning, whose shoulders are tickled alternately by the knees of Burdett, Brougham and Tierney; judge you, my friends, of this mountain of paper, the base of which the flashy Canning tells us,

is so nicely "irrigated with gold"! Things must be in a pretty state, when a sort of jugglery like this is going on; when the Government makes use of an organ like this to feel its way about; and, when this organ itself is, in fact, neither more nor less than a dependent branch of the Government.

The next thing to observe is, that this Old Lady declares to the country-bankers; declares to the country itself, *that another panic must come*; that there is no way of obviating another panic: another panic is a blowing-up of the system, Burdett's "march of mind" and altogether; another panic means a blowing of Tierney away from the Mint, of Brougham away from the bait that he has in his eye; another panic means the scattering of the whole thing and all those appertaining to it into the air or under the ground or somewhere or other, as completely as the timbers and tiles and other things belonging to a powder-mill are blown away by one of those explosions that now and then take place: another panic means all this, and it means, probably, a reducing of shifty and shuffling Burdett to a state of life such as he ought to be reduced to: but, mean what it will; if it mean only

what it meant last time, its meaning is pretty satisfactory; mean what it will, here we have it openly declared by the Old Lady herself, *that come it must, unless the present system be changed*; unless the power of making bank-notes be taken from the country-bankers; unless all the notes be made at one bank; and then, may it please your old devilish Ladyship, what is there for the paper to rest upon but the Government stock, the Government promises to pay? What is that but a Government paper-money, such as they have in Austria and Russia; and what is that but the beginning of a sponge, which, if it could possibly be carried into execution, must leave *a million of people, in and about London*, without bread to put in their mouths! This is what will pinch you, old Daddy Burdett: here is a body that the bread-taxers and the parsons will be unable to cope with. Here are half a million of men, able-bodied men, assembled in and about this Wen. Destroy the value of the paper, or greatly lessen it; pay the interest of the debt in that depreciated paper, though you find the means of paying the soldiers and sailors in gold; pay the interest of that debt in depreciated paper, and you have this half mil-

lion of able-bodied men to persuade to lie down and die quietly, without an effort to get food and drink. Faith, Daddy Burdett, that will put your eloquence to the test! I am afraid, that the hungry half million will not wait for the "march of mind," and will feel little consolation in reflecting that if they could but get victuals and drink, they would, in this "enlightened age," be weighed and measured by the beating of a pendulum in sixty-two degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer.

Last year, Canning, Huskisson, Robinson, Peel, all declared that they never would return to Bank-restriction. They passed an Act to put a total end to one-pound notes in the course of three years. I petitioned them, begged them to reduce the taxes more than one-half; for, that, if they did not, and if they adhered to the Bill that they had just passed about the small notes, they would produce sufferings absolutely intolerable. They persevered: the base and stupid reptiles of the press have been asserting and are asserting now, that things are coming about; Mr. Canning says the same thing; but, in the midst of all this, out comes the old she badger from Threadneedle-street, and tells her offspring, that the present system

must be totally changed or that another panic must come.

Now, my friends, before we go further, pray look at the first of the two mottoes of this letter. It is taken from Mr. Thomas Attwood's letter to Sir John Sinclair, written in December, 1825, written in the midst of the "panic." Sinclair is a Privy Counsellor, and, really, it is a pity that Attwood is not, too, instead of being merely a Birmingham iron man. The doctrine of these two worthies is this, that all we want is plenty of paper-money: that all the distress has arisen from the want of a sufficient quantity of paper-money. When the "late panic" took place, they found their doctrine rather upset, seeing that they were compelled to acknowledge that it was the great quantity of paper-money that had produced the panic. This was undeniable; no blackguard jew, even, had the audacity to deny this; and, therefore, these two worthies were a good deal puzzled. They soon, however, found out a remedy for all the distresses of the country. They proceeded thus: "What caused the panic? People running to the bankers for gold.—What caused people to run to the bankers for gold? "Because gold was wanted to send out of the country.—Why

“was gold wanted to be sent out of the country? Because you could send a sovereign to Paris and get a Bank of England note and a sixpence for it.—What, then, is the remedy? *Compel people to take paper instead of gold.* Have another Bank restriction and legal tender: that is the only security for the country.”

Thus, these two worthies, two great philosophers, great politicians and statesmen concluded. But, Peel and Canning, and Robinson and Huskisson were bound to the contrary, and there was the gridiron everlastingly staring them in the face. Mr. Attwood says, that Castlereagh “*found that he was wrong,*” and that he “*died of a broken heart.*” What soft expressions your ironmonger politicians can find out when they like to use them. If this Mr. Attwood had been speaking of a radical, of which class, by the bye, he speaks in a most beastly manner, in his stupid pamphlet; if he had been speaking of a radical, he would not have said “*died of a broken heart;*” he would have said that he *cut his throat at North Cray in Kent*; but, at any rate, I challenge him (Attwood, I mean) to make out, if he can, what the devil this fellow should cut his throat for, on ac-

count of the ruin that he saw in the country, when he had coolly called the people of England the basest populace; when he had as coolly brought in a Bill to shut them up at his own discretion and that of Sidmouth; when he, a fellow from Ireland, had had the audacity coolly to recommend that Englishmen should be set to work to dig holes one day and fill them up the next; I challenge him to make out, if he can, why this fellow should have cut his throat, merely on account of the ruin which he saw in the country, when it is notorious that it was Peel and Canning more than it was Castlereagh, that effected the passing of Peel’s Bill. Castlereagh assented to the Bill, but was by no means a great advocate of it; and the good of it is, that he had just brought in and caused to be passed a Bill, which partly repealed Peel’s Bill, at the time when he cut his throat. The Small-note Bill was passed in the month of July, and Castlereagh cut his throat on the 12th of August following. So that this is a pure invention of this delicate and tender-hearted man of iron, who chooses to represent radicals as the enemies of their country. This man of iron says, that he KNOWS that Castlereagh saw

the ruin which pervaded England at that time. This is not very wonderful: he must have been stark staring mad, indeed, if he had not seen that, for many years before; but, when the man of iron says that he can *almost* say that **HE KNOWS**, that the seeing of the country's ruin killed Castlereagh, I say that I do not believe the man of iron; that I believe he is as regardless of truth in his account of Castlereagh's feelings as he is in his description of the characters and motives of the radicals. In short, this Attwood is a fellow with a great parcel of money, and most likely he wants to be a Lord. He thinks that the abuse of the radicals will help to pave the way for him; and he has not sense enough to see; his thinking faculties are insufficient to enable him to perceive, that even if his own paper-schemes could be adopted, there would be an end of the whole of the system in which he wishes to thrive and hopes to shine.

Castlereagh knew nothing of the subject: he was an empty fellow, as far as related to such matters. His speeches in 1816, when he began the talk about the effects of a "*sudden transition from war to peace*," and when I began to laugh at him for the stu-

pid idea. These speeches showed that he understood no more about the matter than a baby. The coroner and the Kentish jury, or the witnesses, were perjured, basely perjured, if he had not been mad for several weeks before he cut his throat, though he was, at the same time, *leader of the House of Commons*, and, during the King's absence in Scotland, had the charge of the offices of all the three Secretaries of State. There is nothing very interesting in this bold assertion of the man of iron. The Duke of Wellington wrote a letter at the time of Castlereagh's death, saying something about his having been over-worked. It seemed to be a pretty hard point to make out; and, therefore, why did not the man of iron hasten up to London to state the cause of his cutting his throat, if he was "*almost sure of it*"? This man of iron has a great deal to answer for, observe, if he is now almost sure that Castlereagh cut his throat because he saw the distress of the country: the man of iron must have seen some symptoms of a disposition to perform this exploit with the pen-knife. It is impossible that anybody can believe him, when he says that he is almost sure that Castlereagh cut his

throat on this score; it is impossible to believe Attwood when he says this, without believing that Attwood had *even some symptoms* of a design on the part of Castlereagh to kill himself: I repeat, that it is impossible to believe that Attwood can now almost say that he knows that Castlereagh cut his throat from this cause, without believing that Attwood perceived some symptoms of an intention to cause self-destruction. Attwood, therefore, now asserts a falsehood, or he was guilty of a scandalous neglect of duty, a most base as well as a most scandalous neglect of duty, in not communicating his almost knowledge to some Minister of the King, or, at least, to the relations of Castlereagh himself: it comes to this, Mr. Thomas Attwood, according to his own showing, has a heart as hard as the metal that he deals in, or he is a most insufferable coxcomb, wanting to pass himself off as familiar with and in the secrets of statesmen and men of high rank. He may choose which he likes: the two, however, are very nearly allied, for, the last, though contemptible in itself, becomes perfectly detestable, when it induces the party, as it has done this Attwood, to impute to the suffering masses of his countrymen, those designs, of

their entertaining which he produces not a shadow of proof. Ah, Mr. Attwood, you and the whole of the insolent crew of calumniators and oppressors of the people will finally be brought to your senses by those events of the approach of which the present Circular of the Venerable Dame of Threadneedle Street is an incipient, but a very strong indication. Those events, though flashy Canning and the baldredash Baronet can see nothing of them, will teach those who now have estates and titles, that, after all, their best ally and their only security is that mass of common people, of injured, insulted, long-suffering, but still loyal and docile common people, whom upstarts like you wish to see rendered more abject than negro-slaves, whom you designate by what you deem the odious name of radical, and to whom you, as Castlereagh did before you, falsely impute the worst of motives.

This Circular of the Old Lady; this document coming from no one can tell whom; this paper of equivocal generation, is, however, of most ominous import: it says, and, as it appears, pretty nearly says it on the part of the Government itself, that the present law cannot stand; that

the law for which Canning, Robinson, Huskisson and Brougham and Burdett, and all the motley crew now stand directly or indirectly pledged, cannot last; that something or other must be adopted in its stead; that the returning prosperity, of which they have, again, recently been boasting, is a delusion; and that, in fact, a total change of system must be adopted, or that another panic is at hand. Before this Register comes from the press, one of those pretty things called *budgets* will have made its appearance. I care not what it shall contain: it must and will be a thing of no real interest to the country: it has evidently been put off merely because the Ministers *know not what to do*; and, for my part, I care not one straw what measure they adopt: I know that the end must be a destruction of the paper system, and a return to the ancient money of the country, together with a return to something approaching, at any rate, to the ancient liberties and happiness of Englishmen. To men in common life, therefore, the measures that shall be adopted, the way in which the thing will work is, as to the result, a matter of little consequence; but, to those who have estates and, particularly, to those who have

titles as well as estates, these measures and this way of working are matters of fearful importance. I defy all earthly powers to do any thing by which the interest of the debt shall be reduced, without the other measures suggested in Norfolk Petition; I defy all earthly powers to effect this, without leaving half a million and I might say a *million* of men, women, and children, in and about London, destitute of bread. This consideration alone is quite enough, without taking any other into view. The Lords, who have so much to preserve, should consider how wide the difference will be, between a state of half-barter without a Parliamentary Reform, and a state of half-barter with such Reform. However, the affair is much more theirs than it is mine: let them look to it if they please: if they do not please, let them join Thos. Attwood in abusing radicals and imputing to them all those designs which they have never entertained and which they know that they have never entertained.

If this document of equivocal generation, and of which the base and stupid press seems to be half afraid to speak, should lead to any practical consequences, we shall witness such scenes, such a series of follies, such preliminary con-

fashion, as never were before witnessed in the world. Men will not know what to think. They will not know what to expect. They are a good deal in that state now; but, their uncertainty will increase daily and hourly. Some attempt must and will be made to lessen the burthen of the debt; and, what the mass of the people have to do is, to make a stand against any project for stripping three hundred thousand families of fundholders, without, at the same time, calling for a participation of sacrifices on the part of the landowners and the Church. If those who have titles and estates were wise; or, which is a better way to put it, perhaps, when they shall see their interest, and have a clear sight of the events that are coming, they will listen patiently to the people's petitions for Reform; they will act graciously towards them; they will not set them at defiance and treat them with disdain; and then they will show their sincerity by some overt act; by doing something for the people; by repealing the septennial Bill; by lopping off some of the rotten boroughs; by doing something that shall prove that they mean that the people shall have fair play. How vast (good God!) would be the difference in

their own situation, were they but to give indications like these of a disposition to conciliate the people; but, on the contrary, we have now a Minister, who declares that he never will hear of Reform in any shape, and that he will always oppose it as long as he has power to oppose it, however moderate its tone, however humble the attitude in which it may approach. Here we are, then, as long as this man has power (and Burdett says he is *right in making the declaration*): here we are, then, directly opposed to each other; and the fate of the paper-money, and that alone, is to decide between us. The decision cannot be far distant; and it will be complete and radical, as sure as Burdett has a head upon his shoulders. There are no *tricks* whereby the decision can be avoided. No small coin scheme will answer the purpose: no little shilling project will stifle this great question: wheat at four shillings a bushel, or assignats is the only alternative. Either will do: either gives us Reform of Parliament; and that, too, in a way the most advantageous to the people at large. The document of equivocal generation is, therefore, a thing of very great importance: as such I submit it to

my readers: as such I leave it for their serious consideration and their solid consolation:

At the end of this Letter, towards the close of which I am now, for want of more room, speedily approaching, I shall insert the **RESOLUTION**, consisting of twenty clauses or paragraphs, which I had in my hand, and which I intended to move at the "Purity" Dinner, on the 29d instant. When my readers have gone-through it, let each say to himself, "Was there ever any thing more true, more just, more moderate than this? and, what would I not endure rather than be the man, whose words, whose five-and - twenty years' professions and pledges are here recorded!" I was, in the manner described in the last Register, prevented from putting this Resolution. I found, that it would be impossible to obtain silence sufficient for the reading of such a paper; and, therefore, I adopted the course of moving amendments to the toasts. The result was just as effectual as a reading of the Resolution could have been. Two things marked the character of the whole proceeding. Burdett, who was the chairman of the meeting and the accused party, objected to put, and never did put,

never dared to put; one of my motions, two of which contained, by implication, a censure on himself. The other thing is, that his partisans made an attack, a regular attack, with the avowed, not only with the evident, but with the avowed intention of putting me out of the room; and that his partisans were not only wholly unable to effect their avowed purpose, but were driven in disgrace from the spot where they made the attempt. There he stood, then, upon his own dunghill; the newspapers say, that his stewards came in a body, with their "wands" in their hands (being forty or fifty in number), and cried, "One and all, one and all, put him out of the room!" The same newspapers record, that my friends rushed from all parts of the room, drove the assailants back, broke their wands all to pieces, drove the lords and members of Parliament, scampering from that part of the room; placed me in a state of as great security, as if I had been sitting in my own house at Fleet-street. The same newspapers record, that Sir Glory's head narrowly escaped the butt end of one of his stewards' staves, which perforated a pane of glass just behind him. They record that I kept the room after he had quitted

it, and that, following the "march of mind," he went off his own dung-hill amidst the confusion of clappings and hootings, the far greater part of the lords and members of Parliament that had come to do him honour and to shine as speech-makers, having scampered off long before, and left all the honours of the forum behind them.

These few facts are quite sufficient; and I am sure that you will all say that Sir Glory may now go and repeat the tragi-comic speech which I wrote for him in Long Island, and which I have placed as the second motto to this Register. It was ten years ago, nearly, when I wrote that speech for him. He had then abandoned the people, though the people were not so sensible of the abandonment as they are now; I then told him what he would come to at last; and I pledged myself, that I would stick to him to the end of his career. This I will do, if it please God to give me life, and to continue to bless me with health. In default of these, man can do nothing; but, this I say, that it shall be in default of these, and in default of these **ALONE**; that there is nothing else in this world that shall prevent me from sticking to him to the end of his career.

Before I insert the Resolution, it is right for me to observe, that I disavow many of the sentiments and more of the expressions, contained in the extracts which I have made from his speeches and addresses. I never approved of his violent and outrageous expressions. Never did he use such expressions by my advice. I always endeavoured to prevent that course which was so well calculated to excite apprehensions in the breasts of moderate people. It was he, and he alone, that was the cause of furnishing the grounds, or, rather, the pretences, for the horrid Bills of 1817. In the fall of 1816, he being at Brighton and I being at Botley, he enclosed me a letter from Major Cartwright to himself, which he was to forward to me to read. This letter proposed the making of a grand effort for the forming of little Hampden Clubs all over the manufacturing districts, and for drawing forth the people, in great bodies, to petition for Reform. I wrote to him immediately a letter which I requested him to show to the Major, in which I expressed my opinion against any very strenuous and general efforts being made at that time, and particularly against the formation of clubs. I told them that my opinion was that, as long as the paper-money continued to

circulate uninterruptedly ; as long as no weakness was felt in that quarter, we should carry on a struggle for our rights in vain ; and, that all that we should accomplish would be, to point out great numbers of excellent and public-spirited men as objects of vengeance ; but, I added, if, after having thus given my opinion, you two think it right to persevere, I will not flinch : I will act with as much zeal as if the undertaking had had my hearty concurrence. He received my letter, forwarded it to the Major, sent me the Major's answer, which was in contradiction to my opinion, and he himself observed, in communicating the Major's second letter to me, that the Major argued his case well, and he added that he agreed with him in opinion. On, therefore, we went. When the hour of trial came, he deserted his post. He went into Leicestershire, instead of being in London to meet the deputies of his own clubs, clubs formed in consequence of recommendations *signed with the facsimile of his own name*, and sent round the country, not by post, but by special deputy. He pledged himself to be in town by a certain day. He shuffled that off and wrote to the Major that he would call upon him as he

went down to the House at the opening of the Parliament. He came from Leicestershire on the day of the meeting of Parliament ; went down to the House without calling upon the Major ; went by the end of Palace-yard when Lord Cochrane was going, carried by the people, loaded with their petitions. There he sat in the House like an unconcerned spectator ; and, during the whole of the proceedings by which the Reformers were crushed, and many of them totally destroyed, he never once opened his lips in their defence ; and he ostentatiously took to the exercise of fox-hunting, whilst scores of the Reformers were pining in dungeons, and some perishing on the scaffold. I give his tirades, his bombastical professions, his unmeasured abuse of persons in power, his monstrous and outrageous calumnies on individuals as well as on bodies of men ; I give them not as things that I approve of, but as things that I censure, and particularly as specimens of the means by which he deluded the people, by which he made them believe that it was impossible that he should not hate their enemies. I remember well when he harnessed men in chains, or, at any rate, when men were harnessed in

chains and rode down to Brentford on coaches, decorated with his colours, rattling those chains enough to stun the inhabitants of the streets through which they passed, the exhibition being intended to represent the state of the people, and to hold him forth as the man to set them free. A constant burthen of his abuse was, those whom he called the *great families*; the great families were what he appeared to wish to pull down. In short, he was a *demagogue*, in the true and full sense of that word; and, not being able to succeed in his projects of demagogue, he at last turned about, and is now sticking his knees in the back of that Minister, who says that he will never agree to Reform in any shape or degree. Ten years ago, I, my friends, told you that it would end thus; but, this is not the end with him: there is, yet, the paper-money account to settle, and his share of that account to be inquired into.

With these observations in your minds, I request you to read the whole of the Resolution with attention, and I particularly request this attention from those readers who were, at most, but mere boys, at the beginning of this man's career.

I am,

Your faithful friend, and

Most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Postscript.—31st May, 1827.

The papers of to-day, give a report of what passed in Parliament last night, relative to the CIRCULAR above remarked on by me. I said that this document was of equivocal generation, and I hardly believed it to have emanated from the Bank *officially*. Last night it appears, that Sir JOHN WROTTESLEY gave notice that he should move on the 7th of June for a copy of the Circular Letter which had been "published as addressed by the Bank Directors to the leading country bankers." It appears that Mr. MANNING, a Bank Director, stated, that the Directors knew nothing at all of the document, and that he gave the most complete denial, as far as the Directors were concerned, to the statements it contained. Sir John Wrottesley is stated to have observed, that Mr. Manning's answer was not, to him, satisfactory, and that "the Circular might have come from some individual nearly connected with the Bank of England, although it did not emanate from the Bank Directors."

It is remarkable, that none of the Ministers said a word upon this subject. I truly characterized the thing as of *equivocal generation*: it appeared to me like a

feeler: in that light it appears to me yet; and I imagine that we shall soon see something to convince us, that the ideas contained in this document have not been put forth without a good deal of reflection. Whether the document proceed from any official source or not, it would be hard to conjecture; but I shall be very much deceived, if there be not on foot some project, somewhat of the nature described in this document. At any rate, something must be done; for the present law cannot go into full effect without producing a real, an actual devastation of the country; or, if it can, I will acknowledge myself to have been the most deceived man alive.

RESOLUTION

Drawn up by Mr. COBBETT, and intended by him to be proposed at the "Parity of Election" Dinner, at the Crown and Anchor, on the 23d May, 1827.

1. That this is the twentieth anniversary of a meeting intended to keep alive the recollection of the triumph of the city of Westminster, obtained on the 23d May, 1807; and that that triumph consisted in the Electors of Westminster having succeeded in returning SIR FRANCIS BURDETT

as a member for this city, he having, during several years previous to that time, and especially in the years 1802, 1804, and 1806, professed himself, solemnly declared himself, the uncompromising enemy of the system of corruption; having, in every form of words that the subject would admit of, declared his hatred of the present mode of returning Members to Parliament, most solemnly vowed his readiness to *lay down his life* for the purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform, which he had repeatedly declared to be the *only possible means* of putting a stop to the plunder which he had as frequently asserted to be continually committed upon the people, by both the political factions; and that, in the last-mentioned year, he expressly declared to the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, that, "whenever the leaders of contending parties and factions in a state unite, the history of the world bears evidence, that it is never in favour, but always at the expense, of the people; whose renewed and augmented pillage pays the scandalous price of the reconciliation."

2. That, in an address to the Electors of Westminster, dated

the 22d May 1807, Sir Francis Burdett pledged himself to them, "that no rational endeavours of his should be omitted, to *tear out the accursed leaves of the scandalous Red Book*, and to bring back men's minds to the almost forgotten notions of the sacredness of private property, which ought no longer to be transferred from the legitimate possessors by the corrupt votes of venal and mercenary combinations;" that, in his speech at the first meeting, of which this is the anniversary, he declared to the persons assembled, "that the two factions in parliament, that both sides of the House of Commons laughed at the people, despised the people, and those who had robbed the people most had the greatest contempt for them;" and he concluded that speech by assuring the Electors "that his whole life should be spent in their service."

3. That, from this period until the year 1817 the language of his addresses to the Electors, whether written or verbal, the language of his speeches in Parliament, every act of his public life, were manifestly calculated to impress the minds of that public with a belief, that he looked upon a reform of Parliament as being absolutely

necessary to give the people even a chance of enjoying either their property or their liberty; that, in short, he declared them to be slaves, and the worst of slaves, too, unless they could obtain a reform of the Parliament.

4. That in 1809, he declared, that "there was nothing worthy the serious attention of the English nation, except the necessity of a reform of Parliament"; that, "so far from the House of Commons representing the people of England, the most popular sentiment in that House was, contempt for the people of England"; and that, "he believed the House of Commons to be the only place in all the world where the people of England were spoken of with contempt"; that, "the tree of corruption, which was now producing such bitter fruits, it was our business to lay the axe to the root of;" adding, "unless we destroy this hydra of corruption, it will destroy the country; for, the monster now stands with harpy claws, seizing on all our substance to supply the means of its boundless prodigality": and he concluded his speech with observing (it was a speech at a meeting at Westminster) that "reform of Parliament

"*was the only remedy*," adding, "I hope the nation has ceased to look for any advantage from any change of administration; parties are no more to be looked to, and be assured, that we can never expect any measures really useful until the people of England have their proper share in the constitution."

5. That, in the same year 1809, he, at a meeting of the friends of Parliamentary Reform, held in this place, agreed to, and sent forth, under his name, fourteen resolutions, in which it was declared, that, "so long as the people shall not be fairly represented, corruption will increase, our debts and taxes will accumulate, our resources will be dissipated, the native energy of the people will be depressed, and the country deprived of its best defence against foreign foes; that the remedy was to be found, and to be found only, in a full and fair representation of the people in Parliament, a remedy equally necessary to the safety of the throne, and to the happiness of the people."

6. That, in the year 1811, he, accompanied by the High Bailiff of Westminster, presented an address to the Prince Regent at the levee, beseeching his Royal Highness to give his countenance to a reform of the Commons' House of Parliament, which the address represented to be eaten up by corruption, observing to the Regent, "here, Sir, is the cancer of the state. With a House of Commons rapidly becoming, by the virulence of this pest, a mere mass of corruption, death must ensue, unless the cancer to its last fibre be eradicated,

and free Parliament restored. For such a restoration, your Royal Highness must perceive, that no talent, no wisdom, no virtue, in Ministers, can become a substitute."

7. That, in 1812, he, in the House of Commons, proposed an address to the Prince Regent, in answer to His Royal Highness's speech to the Parliament; that, in that address, he declared, and there stands the declaration in the votes of the House, that, "it had been made manifest to all men, that the persons who possessed, and those who aspired to the offices of state, no longer regarded themselves as chosen by the sovereign, but as the nominees of the borough oligarchy, who equally invaded the province of the crown and the rights of the people, interposing with the one in the choice of its Ministers, and depriving the other of the election of its representatives; and that, amongst the consequences, were a long train of useless wars and expeditions, which, attended with a dreadful waste of treasure and of life, have only answered the purpose of enriching the borough faction and its dependants, as a reward of political corruption."

8. That, in the year 1814, he, in an address to his constituents of Westminster, asserted, that one of the fruits of the tree of corruption was a "system of taxation, every stroke of which, like the cat o' nine tails from the backs of the soldiers, brought blood, and which was not more galling in the mode and severity of its collection, than in its prodigate, corrupt and wasteful expenditure." He added, that the pa-

triotic and enlightened electors of Westminster knew full well, that these were a few of the bitter fruits of that baleful tree, "which" "nourished its roots in that hot-bed of corruption from whence" "it sprang, St. Stephen's Chapel; that we were instructed by the highest authority *how to judge it, and by the same authority how to deal with it*; and that he *trusted that we should deal with it accordingly.*"

9. That, in 1819, he, in a letter addressed to the Electors of Westminster, traced the horrible deeds committed at Manchester, in that year, to the want of a reform in the Commons' House of Parliament; asserted the principle of the absolute necessity of obtaining such a reform, and declared that he *held his estate as a retaining fee, for the exertions which it was his duty constantly to make in support of the rights of the people, always putting the faculty of voting for Members of Parliament at the head of those rights.*

10. That, at the close of his re-election, in the year 1818, a dinner was held in this same room, in the month of July, to celebrate his return to Parliament; that at that dinner, he renewed all his protestations upon the subject of reform, and expressed his confident expectation, that the people of England, and especially the people of Westminster, would never abandon the sacred cause of reform; that there were certain banners carried by the several parishes on that occasion; that upon two of those banners were inscribed the words, "BURDETT and REFORM"; that, in one part of the procession, came SIR FRANCIS BURDETT himself, seated in a

TRIUMPHAL CAR (on one of the steps of which was inscribed the word "REFORM"), drawn by six horses, preceded by six trumpeters with silver trumpets, and followed by a long dark blue banner carried on horseback, and waving over his head, having on it the motto "RADICAL REFORM"; that, at the dinner aforesaid, the first toast given was: "May a "SPEEDY and an EFFEC-
TUAL REFORM enable
the people of the United King-
dom to choose their own repre-
sentatives"; and that SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, in addressing the Electors, again solemnly repeated, that there "could be no security
for the people of England, with-
out a Radical Reform in Parlia-
ment"; that, upon this same occasion, SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, in a written address to the Electors of Westminster, said, "that the
question was, whether those
principles and professions, upon
which they had so long acted,
should be upheld, or whether
they should strive to uphold a
cheat; that the great question
now at issue, in Westminster,
was, whether reform or no re-
form shall take place, or whether
corruption and despotism should
be countenanced. As to my-
self," said he, "I shall at *all*
times be ready to co-operate
with my countrymen, for the
purpose of checking that system
of fiscal spoliation and political
corruption, which takes his due
reward from the poor, his in-
heritance from the rich, and
liberty from all, and must finally
terminate in the establishment
of despotic power. It is against
this formidable enemy we have
buckled on our armour; and I

"trust we shall keep our harness
"on our backs until we have ob-
"tained the people's unalienable
"rights, recovered their fair and
"reasonable share of the Govern-
"ment, the appointment of their
"own guardians in a House of
"Commons, freely and constitu-
"tionally chosen by themselves."

11. That, with regard to what has been called the **CATHOLIC QUESTION**, he always (up to the year 1824) treated it with scorn; treated it as a mere pretence, kept up for the purposes of deception and plunder; that, in a letter to the Freeholders of Middlesex, in the year 1807, he thus addressed himself to them with regard to the *Catholics* and their cause:—"Gentlemen, after what has lately passed in review before us, it is impossible to shut our eyes to the actual situation of our country. Lord Melville, with his associates and abettors, under the pretence of loyalty, and the leaders of the Whigs under the pretence of the Constitution; AND THE LEADERS OF THE CATHOLICS, UNDER THE PRETENCE OF RELIGION, are ALL evidently struggling for one and the same object: A SHARE OF THE COMMON SPOIL; whilst the wholesome power of the crown, the fair liberty of the subject, and the real interest of any religion, are all sacrificed to the common object—PLUNDER;" that in a speech made in the House of Commons, on the 15th June 1809, he asserted, that *nothing but a Reform in Parliament could cure the evils of Ireland*; that, if reform was necessary HERE, it

was THERE a measure of imperious necessity; that no other measure could effect any change for the better; but that, by the adoption of reform, "the chief magistrate would be seated up—on his throne, the sceptre of legitimate power would be placed in the hands of the King, in despite of those 157 Borough-mongers, who have traitorously usurped all but the pageantry, outward show and forms of royalty."

12. That such are the doctrines, such the teachings, such the pledges, such the invocations to the people, such the promises of fidelity to the cause of reform, which the people of Middlesex and the people of Westminster in particular, and the nation in general through them, have heard and received from SIR FRANCIS BURDETT; that, for several years past, there have been great inactivity, a marked silence and shyness in SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, on the subject of Reform in Parliament; and, certain parts of his conduct with regard to the Corn Bill, showed but too clearly what we had to expect in the future.

13. That, in 1824, he supported a proposition, directly in the teeth of all his former declarations relative to the *Catholic question*; that he then began to represent that which is called *Catholic Emancipation* as sufficient of itself to restore Ireland to happiness; that instead of continually insisting, as formerly, that no good to Ireland could ensue without a Reform of Parliament, he now supported a proposition for stripping the forty shilling freeholders of Ireland of

their right of voting; to strip half a million of men of their right of voting for Members of Parliament; and that, too, as the price of a measure, which would have subjected all the people of England to be taxed for the *payment of salaries to the Catholic Priests* of Ireland; while all Ireland was, at the same time, to be subjected to the payment of tithes and church rates to the Protestant Clergy, some of whom have from three to seven livings each, and whose followers or flocks, do not, in many cases, form more than a fiftieth part of the people, and, on an average, not more than a seventh part."

14. That, there has recently been a change in the King's Ministry; that Mr. Canning has become the Prime Minister; that from the hour, and even years before the hour, that SIR FRANCIS BURDETT became the open advocate of reform, Mr. CANNING became its open enemy; that he has continued to be its open, its bitter, its implacable, its most deadly enemy from that day to the day of his recent appointment to be Prime Minister; that he has constantly been the loud, the determined, the inveterate advocate of every measure, whether against the press, or against the pockets or the persons of the people, if such measure were intended to crush, or do injury to, those who advocated the cause of Parliamentary Reform; that the motives and the characters of the reformers have been, with this man, subjects of constant abuse, and their ruin, their sufferings, both mental and bodily, constantly subjects of his cruel and scurrilous jests.

15. That, so flagrant has invariably been his conduct in these respects, that SIR FRANCIS BURDETT has been, for years, in the habit of regarding him and representing him as the *champion of the barrowmongering system*; that, in a letter addressed to a company of Reformers assembled in this very room, in 1821, he says, "Gentlemen, that Mr. CANNING (I mention him as the **CHAMPION** of the party, a part for the whole) should defend to the utmost a system, by the **HOCUS POCUS TRICKS**, of which he and his family get so much public money, can cause, neither in me nor any man, suspicion or anger;

"For 'tis their duty, all the learned think,
"To espouse the cause by which they eat and drink."

That, at the dinner before mentioned, held in 1818, SIR FRANCIS BURDETT said, that, "if Mr. CANNING had found himself obnoxious to the people, it was because they had always found him the interested supporter of every species of abuse and tyrannical power;" that, at the same dinner, Mr. HOBHOUSE, being engaged in imitating SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, with regard to his attack upon Mr. CANNING, and being interrupted by an elector, said, that he "agreed with the worthy elector, who had just done him the honour of interrupting him, that Mr. CANNING was **UNWORTHY THE NOTICE OF A RATIONAL MAN**, and could only be respectable in their eyes, as having been animadverted upon by the Chair-man; and that he could assure them, that, on no other account, would he have presumed to in-

"introduce, even for a moment, the mention of that *abandoned name*" (LOUD APPLAUSE!)

16. That, in the House of Commons, on the 4th day of this present month of May, 1827, SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, having first crossed the House and placed himself close at the back of Mr. CANNING, said, that "*putting aside all the great questions mentioned by an honourable Member, including that of Parliamentary Reform, he saw sufficient reason to support the administration of Mr. CANNING,*" whom, (hear it, Electors of Westminster!) he called "*his right honourable FRIEND*"; and that, to conclude this series of undeniable and astounding facts, Mr. CANNING rose and said, "*I am asked what I mean to do on the subject of Parliamentary Reform; why, I say,—to OPPOSE IT,—TO OPPOSE IT TO THE END OF MY LIFE IN THIS HOUSE, UNDER WHATEVER SHAPE IT MAY APPEAR!*"

17. That, thus, SIR FRANCIS BURDETT has abandoned all those principles, for his presumed and believed attachment to which, he was chosen by the people of Westminster; that, twenty-five years ago, he asserted, that, "*when the leaders of contending factions united, the pillage of the people formed the scandalous price of the reconciliation*"; that, since the commencement of his assertions respecting the *deadly effects of a want of reform*, he has seen his assertions proved by fatal experience; that, since he first publicly asserted that a want of reform, if continued to exist, would

increase the debt, the taxes, the poverty, the misery, the hard treatment of the people, he has seen **THREE HUNDRED MILLIONS** added to the capital of the national debt, and **THREE MILLIONS** a year added to the poor-rates; he has seen the number and size of the gaols tripled, and the number of the criminals augmented five-fold; he has seen that system of imprisonment, which he so bitterly and loudly complained of at *Cold Bath Fields*, extended to all parts of the kingdom; he has seen new game laws, extending the punishment for poaching to that of *transportation even by the Justices of the Peace*; he has seen *ELLENBOROUGH'S ACT*, which, combined with the new game laws, has been the ground of condemning many men to the gallows; he has seen the new trespass law, which authorizes a man to be sent to prison and to hard labour, for a damage amounting to a *shilling or less*, and which gives no new protection to property of any sort against the damage-doer, who, by horses, dogs, or by any other means, shall commit damage *exceeding in amount five pounds*; he has seen a law passed making it felony to take an apple from a tree; he has seen the invention of a new mode of punishment, called a Tread Mill, the very thought of the existence of which, in England, would have made our forefathers hide their heads for shame; he has heard it observed by the Judges, in the Court of King's Bench, that *bread and water had now become the common diet of the labouring people of England*; he knows that, in one of the counties in which he has great estates, the

allowance of food, made by the Magistrates, to the convicted felon in the gaol, *is more than that which the same Magistrates allow to the honest labouring man*; he has seen the begging box three times sent round, by Royal authority, in order to collect from one part of the people the means of preventing another part of them from dying from starvation; he has now before his eyes, in printed reports, laid before himself and others of the House of Commons, proofs, that the labouring men in England now have potatoes for almost their only diet; that in Ireland, the poor have been detected in *stealing* (for food) sea-weed, which had been laid out upon the land for manure; and he has before him, in these reports, evidence of the anxious desire of thousands upon thousands to be *transported for life* from their native land, in order to free themselves from the dreadful miseries of all sorts, which they have to endure in that land.

18. That, during the last twenty-five years, he has, until very lately, been constantly asserting *that such things must be the effect of the want of a Reform in Parliament*; that there could be no cure, no mitigation of suffering, and no hope of redress, without a Reform of the Parliament; and that, even at the anniversary dinner of last year only; even on this day twelve-month, in this very room, Sir Francis Burdett, in the course of his speech, said that "the House of Commons was overwhelmed by a SCUM, such as was never before found upon the face of the earth, because so little of the public voice of the people could, by any exertions of public

virtue, be got in at all; and this "was because there were so few men of that description in the House of Commons: as few as there were in SODOM, which a few would have saved from destruction;" and, that now, only at the end of 365 days, after seeing a further augmentation of all these terrible evils, every one of which can, even according to his own doctrines, be clearly traced to a want of Reform, he goes, seats himself at the Minister's back, *puts aside the cause of Reform*, says he sees reasons to support that Minister, while that Minister, at the same time, declares that he *will oppose Reform to the last hour of his political life*: so that, here we have SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, at last, declaring that he will support the opposer of Parliamentary Reform, that he will support the upholder of this political Sodom, to the end of that opposer's Parliamentary life, that opposer being, too, the Prime Minister of the country!

19. That at the Westminster dinner before mentioned, in 1818, MR. STURCH, who proposed the toast "WESTMINSTER'S PRIDE AND ENGLAND'S HOPE," in his preface to this toast, uttered the following words: "It was not the private virtues, the great fortune, nor the splendid abilities of SIR FRANCIS BURDETT that induced him to give a single vote in support of his election. But, if any man should ask him why he felt interested in the return of SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, he should say, it was because he felt, in his heart and soul, that their favourite representative was the unalterable friend of freedom.

"If, however, that MELANCHOLY DAY ever should arrive, when their representative NO LONGER possessed the principles which had recommended him to their choice, he would then SHRINK WITH AVERSION FROM THAT TOAST which he now gave with delight."

20. That all men here present must feel "*in their heart and soul*," that this "*melancholy day*" has arrived; "that this representative no longer possesses the principles which recommended him to the Electors of Westminster," and that, therefore, all men now here present, ought to "*shrink with aversion*" from a repetition of that, or any such, toast; or that we ought to be prepared to see every sensible and sound-hearted Englishman "*shrink with aversion*" from us.

TULIP-TREE WOOD.

I HAVE for sale *fifty-four* planks of this wood, averaging about *thirty feet* in each plank. They are *two and a half inches* thick. Some are about fourteen feet long; others not, probably, more than ten feet. Some are between *three and four feet* wide; others not, perhaps, more than two feet. The planks are just *as wide at one end as at the other*; and there is not a *single knot*, or curl, in the whole

parcel of *one thousand, five hundred and eighty-one feet*.

MICHAUX, in his *North American Sylva*, says of the tree, that he saw *one twenty-two feet six inches* in circumference, at five feet from the ground; and that he judged the tree to be *a hundred and forty feet* high. Of the WOOD Michaux says what every body in America knows; namely, that it is in colour of a pale yellow; that its grain is very fine; that the wood is both *light* and *strong*; that it is used in rafters, shingles, door-panels, bedsteads, wainscoting, chair-bottoms, large bowls, and particularly, in all parts of America, in making the *panels of coaches* and other pleasure carriages; and, so much is this the case, that it is carried hundreds of miles to be used in those places, near to which it does not grow.

The wood admits of a *beautiful polish*, and is used for various purposes by cabinet-makers. Of these planks that I have, a single plank would make a kitchen-dresser, or table; a servants'-hall table; a slab for a dairy or a larder; fine things, I should think, for cutting-boards, shop-boards, counters, show-boards, or almost any thing, which requires a very large breadth of wood in one

single, smooth piece. Being $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, these planks are strong enough for any thing.

The price for the whole parcel, ONE SHILLING and THREE-PENCE A FOOT; for any quantity less than the whole, and exceeding a hundred feet, ONE SHILLING AND SIXPENCE A FOOT; and for a single plank, ONE SHILLING AND NINE-PENCE A FOOT. So that a plank, 14 feet long, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, which, with a couple of tressles, would make a table to dine twenty people, would cost only four pounds five shillings; it might be kept as clean as a marble slab, and with nearly as little trouble, and would last for many a lifetime.

The planks are at my house at

Kensington, where they may be seen, by application to the gardener, at any hour between four in the morning and five in the afternoon. There is the mark on each plank, expressing the number of feet which it contains. The marks were put on in America, and, therefore, are according to our old-fashioned English *kingly measure*, and not according to the grand and sublime "IMPERIAL MEASURE," which, being an "improvement of the age," produced by "liberal principles," the offspring of the "march of mind," gauges (in defiance of Bedlam) ale, metes oysters, and ascertains the length and width of shirting, by the "beat of a pendulum in a beat of sixty-two degrees of Fahrenheit's Thermometer"!

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending May 18.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat ..	57	6	Rye	40	11
Barley ..	39	5	Beans ...	49	10
Oats	29	5	Pease ...	46	10

Total Quantity of Corn returned as Sold in the Maritime Districts, for the week ended May 18.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	38,226	Rye	237
Barley ..	4,631	Beans ..	1,301
Oats ...	9,630	Pease	130

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, May 19.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat..	4,674	for 14,491	19	8	Average,	62	0
Barley..	2,153	..	4,401	4	11.....	40	10
Oats..	1,791	..	2,971	3	4.....	33	2
Rye....	53	..	96	13	6.....	37	1
Beans..	522	..	1,311	4	11.....	50	2
Pease ..	29	..	72	10	1.....	50	0

Friday, May 25.—This week our market has been moderately supplied with English Corn; but there is another large arrival of Foreign Oats. Wheat continues dull at Monday's prices. Barley and Beans are very scarce. Oats, of feeding descriptions, are very heavy in sale, and rather decline in value, as the quantity for sale is so considerable.

Monday, May 28.—The preceding week furnished a fair supply of Wheat and Flour, and very scanty quantities of Barley, Beans, and Oats of English growth; but another large arrival of Foreign Oats. This morning the fresh supply of all descriptions of Grain is small. Superfine samples of Wheat are very scarce, and such, though taken off slowly, obtained last week's prices, but all other sorts are very dull, and must be reported 1s. per quarter lower.

Scarcely a sample of Barley is to be seen, and the prices of this article may be considered nominal. Beans and Pease are unaltered in value. Nearly all the Foreign Oats are of a feed description, and such being very abundant, may be reported 1s. to 2s. per quarter lower than on Monday last, but stout parcels of Oats nearly maintain the terms last quoted. There is a fair sale for Flour, at no variation in value.

Price on board Ship as under.

Flour, per sack	46s. — 50s.
— Seconds	42s. — 44s.
— North Country ..	40s. — 43s.

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. Loaf is stated at 9d. by the full-priced Bakers.

COAL MARKET, May 25.

Ships at Market.	Ships sold.	Price.
443.	244.	23s. — 35s. 9d.

Account of Wheat, &c. arrived in the Port of London, from May 21 to May 26, both inclusive.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	6,490	Tares	88
Barley ..	515	Linseed ..	2,442
Malt	5,620	Rapeseed ..	550
Oats	3,515	Brank ..	103
Beans	600	Mustard ..	—
Flour	6,848	Flax	—
Rye	—	Hemp	—
Pease	214	Seeds ...	21

Foreign.—Wheat, 4,927; Barley, 2,351; Oats, 37,400; Beans, 429 quarters.

Monday, May 28.—The arrivals from Ireland last week were, 36 firkins of Butter, and 2,877 bales of Bacon; and from Foreign Ports, 6,039 casks of Butter. The market is now abundantly supplied with English Butter, and the prices generally are much lower. Bacon was very dull last week: prices may be quoted full 1s. per cwt. lower.

Price of Hops, per Cwt. in the Borough.

Monday, May 28.—The fly having increased beyond what was expected even by the most sanguine, the Hop market has been very brisk, at a great advance in price since our last report. To-day's letters from the Plantations speak of very great increase of fly since Saturday, which it is expected will prove fatal to the crop.—Kent pockets, from 8*l.* to 10*l.*; bags, 6*l.* 10*s.* to 8*l.* 8*s.* Sussex pockets, 7*l.* to 8*l.* 8*s.*

Maidstone, May 24.—About two days after our last Report, we had the first appearance of fly in this neighbourhood, which has ever since generally much increased; in consequence, the market has within the space of the last week advanced full 40*s.* per cwt.; bags offered last Thursday at 4*l.* 10*s.*, now selling at 6*l.* 10*s.* to 7*l.*; Pockets in proportion.

SMITHFIELD.

Monday, May 28.—There was some improvement in the price of Beef, Mutton, and Lamb on Friday, which is fully supported to-day. Good Beasts are from 30*s.* to 2*l.* a head higher than this day se'nnight; and a few choice things have exceeded our top currency. Down Mutton is very short in supply, and 4*d.* a stone dearer than last Monday, 5*s.* 6*d.* being readily given for the best; and Polled Sheep have advanced about 1*s.* per head. The best Lamb obtains 7*s.* a stone, and has a free sale. The market opened with a brisk trade, but towards the close the demand slackened, and it was thought some things would remain over, both of Beef and Mutton.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	4	0	5	2
Mutton ...	4	0	5	2
Veal	4	8	5	4
Pork	4	6	5	2
Lamb	6	0	7	0
Beasts . . .	1,933	Sheep ..	21,020	
Calves ...	210	Pigs ...	100	

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	8	4	8
Mutton ...	4	4	6	4
Veal	5	4	6	0
Pork	4	0	6	0
Lamb	5	4	6	8

LEADENHALL, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef ...	3	4	4	6
Mutton ...	3	4	5	0
Veal	3	8	6	0
Pork	4	4	5	8
Lamb	4	0	6	8

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS, per Ton.				
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
Ox-Nobles.....	3	10	to	0 0
Middlings.....	2	5	—	0 0
Chats.....	0	0	—	0 0
Common Red...3	10	—	0 0	
Onions, Or. Od.—0s. Od.	per bush.			

Boreuven, per Ton.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
Ox-Nobles.....	3	10	to	4 0
Middlings.....	2	5	—	0 0
Chats.....	2	9	—	0 0
Common Red...3	0	—	3 10	

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

<i>Smithfield.</i> —Hay....		90s. to 115s.
Straw...		36s. to 42s.
Clover, 100c. to—140c.		
<i>St. James's.</i> —Hay....		75s. to 122s.
Straw ..		35s. to 48s. 6d.
Clover. 120s. to 140s.		
<i>Whitechapel.</i> —Hay....		84s. to 120s.
Straw...38s. to		42s.
Clover...90s. to 135s.		

AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN, sold in the Maritime Counties of England and Wales, for the Week ended May 18, 1827.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
London*.....	61	6	40	6	38	0
Essex.....	59	5	39	0	32	1
Kent.....	58	8	40	3	30	7
Sussex.....	56	10	42	8	29	0
Suffolk.....	56	3	37	5	31	7
Cambridgeshire.....	55	4	39	6	27	7
Norfolk.....	56	3	37	10	31	3
Lincolnshire.....	56	0	39	3	24	9
Yorkshire.....	56	1	41	5	28	3
Durham.....	56	2	42	4	39	3
Northumberland.....	56	7	37	6	31	6
Cumberland.....	66	8	42	0	35	10
Westmoreland.....	64	4	47	0	41	1
Lancashire.....	62	4	0	0	32	6
Cheshire.....	62	4	0	0	0	0
Gloucestershire.....	57	0	42	3	36	0
Somersetshire.....	55	1	42	0	37	6
Monmouthshire.....	59	9	45	2	0	0
Devonshire.....	56	9	39	1	34	7
Cornwall.....	64	1	41	2	38	0
Dorsetshire.....	54	6	39	9	32	0
Hampshire.....	57	1	41	9	0	0
North Wales.....	68	7	45	7	29	11
South Wales.....	61	0	49	0	27	4

* The London Average is always that of the Week preceding.

Liverpool, May 22.—At this day's market there was a moderate business doing in Wheat and Oats, at about the prices of this day week for the former, and at about 1d. per 45 lbs. decline in the latter. In Indian Corn there has been a good demand, and a small advance has been obtained. In other articles little doing.

Imported into Liverpool, from May 15 to May 21, 1827, inclusive:—Wheat, 6,207; Barley, 1,366; Oats, 4,738; Malt, 1,382; Beans, 433; Pease, 214 quarters; Flour, 1,502 sacks, per 280 lbs.; Oatmeal, 204 packs, per 240 lbs.; American Flour, 5,101 barrels.

Derby, May 26.—Our Corn market this day was but thinly attended, and very little business done. Prices of all sorts of Grain rather on the decline.—Best Wheat, 60s. to 64s.; Barley, 38s. to 46s.; Oats, 32s. to 40s.; and Beans, 54s. to 62s. per eight bushels Imperial measure.

Horncastle, May 26.—We had only a moderate supply of all sorts of Grain. Wheat and Barley rather lower. Oats, Beans, and Rye, nearly the same as our last.—Wheat, 56s. to 58s.; Barley, 38s. to 40s.; Oats, 26s. to 30s.; Beans, 60s. to 64s.; and Rye from 38s. to 42s. per quarter.

Ipswich, May 26.—Our supply was very small again to-day of Wheat and all other Grain. The same price was asked as last week, and but little business was therefore done. Prices as follow:—Wheat, 52s. to 63s.; Barley, 38s. to 41s.; and Beans, 49s. to 50s. per quarter.

Manchester, May 27.—The Corn trade continues in the same dull state as noted last week. At our market to-day we had a good attendance of country dealers, &c., and a large supply of Wheat and Oats: the finest qualities of the former were offered at a reduction of 2d. per bushel of 70 lbs.; inferior unsaleable: the latter were 2d. to 3d. per 45 lbs. lower, at which reduction sales to a considerable extent were made. The Flour trade was dull at a decline of 1s. per sack on last week's rates. In Barley, Beans, Pease, and Malt, no alteration since this day se'nnight.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, May 26.—We had a moderate supply of Wheat from the farmers this morning, which was readily sold at last week's prices, and granary samples were more in demand. Rye sells freely at last week's prices. Barley dull sale at 2s. per quarter cheaper. The farmers' supply of Oats was small, but there were a great many samples from granary, and prices were 1s. per quarter lower. We had some inquiry for Barley and Wheat in bond, and sales were made of fine Barley at 30s., and Dantzic Wheat at 40s. per quarter.

Norwich, May 26.—The supply of Wheat to-day was only moderate, notwithstanding prices were 1s. per quarter lower than last week.—Red, 52s. to 58s.; White to 60s.; Barley, only a few parcels, at 40s.; Oats, 28s. to 31s.; Beans, 43s. to 48s.; Pease, 44s. to 48s.; Boilers, to 50s. per quarter; and Flour, 41s. to 42s. per sack.

Reading, May 26.—A general dullness pervaded the sale of Corn of all descriptions this day. We had a fair supply of Wheat. Barley was a shade dearer, but so little is doing in this article, or in Oats, Pease, or Beans, that the prices were little more than nominal.

Wakefield, May 25.—The supply of Wheat for this day's market is very large; the sale has been very heavy, at a decline of full 1s. per quarter from the prices obtained last Friday, and to quit any quantity a still greater reduction must be submitted to. Oats and Shelling are very dull sale, and something lower. Malt is in limited demand, without alteration in value. Beans are in request, and rather better prices are obtained for them.

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Horncastle, May 26.—Beef, 9s. per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton, 6d. to 7d.; Lamb 7d. to 8d.; and Veal, from 7d. to 9d. per lb.

Manchester Smithfield Market, May 23.—The supply of Sheep to this day's market was good, and of Lambs abundant, the greater part of which were sold. The supply of Cattle was short, and such as were fit for slaughtering were sold readily at an advance of full $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. on last week's rates. In Calves and Pigs little or no alteration.—Beef, $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 8d.; Mutton, 7d. to $8\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Lamb, 8d. to $9\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Veal, 5d. to $7\frac{1}{2}$ d.; and Pork, 4d. to 5d. per lb., sinking offal.

At *Morpeth Fair*, May 23, there was a short supply of Cattle, Sheep, and Lambs; and there being a good many buyers, both the latter sold readily, at a little advance in price.—Beef, from 7s. to 7s. 9d.; Mutton, 8s. 9d. to 9s. 9d.; Lamb, 9s. to 10s. per stone, sinking offal.

Norwich Castle Meadow, May 26.—We had only a moderate supply of fat Cattle to this day's market, prices nearly the same as last week, 7s. 9d. to 8s. 6d. per stone of 14 lbs., sinking offal: the supply of Store Stock was also large; Scots few, sold at 4s. to 4s. 6d. per stone of what they will weigh when fat; Shorthorns, 3s. to 3s. 9d.; Cows and Calves but few here, sale rather brisker; Homebreds, of one and two years old, a flat sale. Pigs, rather brisk sale.—Meat: Beef, 7d. to 9d.; Veal, 6d. to 8d.; Mutton, 6d. to $7\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Lamb, 8d.; and Pork, 6d. to 8d. per lb.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

Vol. 62.—No. 11.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 9, 1827. [Price 6d.



THE REFORMERS have yet many and powerful foes: we have to contend against a host, such as never existed before in the world. Nine-tenths of the press; all the channels of speedy communication of thought and of fact; all the pulpits; all the associations of rich people; all the taxing people; all the immense military and naval establishments, costing us nearly twenty millions a year; all the yeomanry cavalry tribes; all the Jews and jobbers, who suck up thirty millions a year. Your allies, Mr. CANNING, are endless in number and mighty in influence. But, we have **ONE ALLY**, worth the whole of them put together; namely, **THE DEBT**! This is an ally, whom no honours, no rewards, can seduce from us. She is a steady; an unrelaxing, an ever-persevering and incorruptible ally; an ally who is proof against all blandishments, all intrigues, all temptations and all acts of open violence. She sets at defiance all "military," all "yeomanry cavalry"; they may as well fire at a ghost. This ally cares not a straw about spies and informers. She laughs at the expenditure of *secret-service money*. She is always erect, right as well as day, and is always firmly moving on in our cause, in spite of all the terrors of gaols, dungeons, halters, and axes. Therefore, Mr. CANNING, be not so pert. The combat is not so unequal as you seem to imagine; and confident and insolent as you now are, the day of your humiliation may be not so very far distant. Already do many of your friends, seeing the strength and fidelity of our ally and the tendency of her march, begin to propose measures for *weakening* her; for *diminishing her power* by degrees; for drawing off detachments from her, under the name of *reductions*. Oh, no! She is not to be taken from our cause in this way! She is one and indivisible. She is as staunch as she is strong. She is to be got at only by rap and raine: she is to be beaten only by **BLOWING UP**; and the explosion is **SURE TO BURY HER ASSAILANTS AND OUR ENEMIES IN HER RUINS.**—*Register*, 9 Nov. 1816.

CANNING'S BUDGET.

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Fleet Street, 5th June, 1827.

MY FRIENDS,

THERE are many parts of my twenty-five years' Register, to which parts I turn back with great delight, and I am sure that many of you are in the habit of doing

the same thing. Amongst all the parts, to which I thus turn, I do not know of one, to which I have so often turned, with feelings of self-gratulation, as the passage, which I have selected as a *Motto* to this Register, and which I beg

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Printed and Published by WILLIAM COBBETT, No. 183, Fleet-street.
[ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.]

you to read, this once more, at any rate; for, during my present address to you, I shall have to apply it in a most striking manner.

The dirty intrigues that have been going on for some months, seem to have caused a sort of *suspension of thought* with regard to all really important public affairs. At last, however, in CANNING'S BUDGET, together with the real state of the paper-money, we have something that forces itself upon the serious attention of all men, who are capable (as you, my friends, all are) of justly judging as to such matters. We must now, therefore (for one week at least), cast aside "Westminster's Pride and England's Glory," together with his "CRIB" and his "REGIMENT"; or, rather, we must leave him in the "Regiment," fighting hard to get at the "Crib," and preserve our blows for him and his Sancho and their now notoriously battered Rump, until we have leisure to bestow those blows. We must also pass over the curious exhibition of Thursday, the 31st of May, when Mr. HUME made a motion for a repeal of that Act of SIX-ACTS, which compels every printer, or publisher, of *any newspaper*, or of a periodical publication of *not more*

than two sheets and of a price *less than sixpence*; which compels every such printer, or publisher, to GIVE BAIL, BEFORE HE BEGIN TO PRINT OR PUBLISH; to give bail in THREE HUNDRED POUNDS, with two SURETIES in 150*l.* each, for the payment of any fines *that may be imposed on him for libel, after he begin to publish!* This is, however, a mere trifle, when compared with another part of this Act, and with that part of another of the SIX-ACTS, which makes a man liable to be BANNISHED FOR LIFE, for uttering, in print, any thing which has even "a TENDENCY to bring *either House of Parliament into CONTEMPT*"!!! So that, THOMAS ATTWOOD, and several others, who, if people believe them, MUST have brought both Houses of Parliament *into contempt*, may, even now, be BANNISHED FOR LIFE! Well, on the day above-mentioned, Mr. HUME made a motion for a repeal of the first of these Acts; and he got TEN *to vote for him!* The whole band of formerly noisy Whigs, who made such a merit of their long and strenuous opposition to these very Acts, now either voted against the repeal, or *they kept away*; and Sir BOBBY,

particularly, even *spoke* against the repeal! *Burdett* and his *Little Man* were *silent*, at any rate, owing, perhaps, to their *fatigue at the purity dinner* on the 23d! These are such scenes as even this nation never beheld before. There was *LAWYER SCARLETT* speaking against the repeal of an Act which he had strenuously opposed; there was *CANNING* defending the Whigs for this conduct, upon the principle that a *barrister is defensible* for speaking for and against the same thing; and there was *PEEL* insisting that the present conduct of the Whigs, in opposing the repeal of this Act, *PROVED* that it was a *MERIT* in his lamented friend, *Castlereagh*, to have been the author and proposer of the Act! After which, if any unsatisfied greedy Whig, if any apostate Reformer disappointed in getting a peerage, were to happen to cut his throat, who need wonder, if our *SOLON* from the Spinning Jenny were to hold it up as a *PROOF*, that *Castlereagh* acted a very wise, statesman-like, loyal, patriotic, decorous, and valiant part, in cutting his own throat at North Cray in Kent, at the very time when he had charge of the nation's affairs in the offices of the three Secre-

taries of State! If, indeed, *SOLON* *PEEL* had insisted that his "lamented noble friend" was now *proved* to have been *just as great a friend to the liberties of the people as the Whigs were*, nobody would, or could with reason, have disputed the truth of his conclusion; and, all that I should have said about the matter would have been, that *SOLON's* remark was, as far as related to me, wholly *unnecessary*, seeing that, at the very time, *when the Whigs were voting against the Bills*, I said, that the far greater part of them *wished the Bills to pass*, and that they would have voted for the Bills, if they had not been *SURE THAT THEY WOULD PASS IN SPITE OF THEIR VOTES*. This opinion of mine is now fully established. It is now settled beyond all dispute, that the Whigs were and are just as *good as Castlereagh*, and *no better*; just as *humane*, and not more so; precisely as *great friends of public liberty*, and not one jot greater; and that, as the people of Kent told the leaders of the two factions, in 1815, *all were tarred with the same brush*.

However, though here is matter for copious commentary, we must quit it, in order to get at "*CANNING'S BUDGET*;" for this,

this is the subject that is truly interesting ; here we have the point on which every thing turns ; the intrigues, their expected results, the hopes and fears of the factious, Solon's new laws, " the march of mind," Burdett's monstrous support of Canning ; every thing sinks out of sight when we are in the presence of the DEBT and its inevitable consequences.

This annual romance, called the "*Budget*," I have, of late years, taken very little notice of ; but, upon this occasion, I shall go fully into the matter ; because the Budget has come forth, accompanied with indications of what we may expect to see take place within a few months ; and because, some of the present supporters of the ministry have been very positive in expressing their *opinions* and their *intentions* on the money-subject. These their declarations it will be convenient to have on record, and to remember. I shall, therefore, notice certain parts of the speeches reported (in the Morning Chronicle) to have been made upon this occasion, beginning with that of Canning himself, who, be it observed, has put off this Budget-affair to the distance of *three months* from the usual time of bringing it forth. Of all the *poor sticks* that I have ever

seen making budget-speeches, this is the very poorest ; but, as I said from the moment I heard of his elevation, this is the man of all men to bring the thing to a close, to wind it up, to *see the last of it* ! According to the report, he began his speech as follows :

- - - - - " The task which
" I am this day called upon to perform, difficult as it must be at any
" moment for a person who is called
" upon to undertake it for the first
" time, is not in my case lessened by
" the consideration that the picture of
" the financial state of the country,
" which it is become my duty to present to this Committee, is not one
" of *unqualified prosperity*. Undoubtedly a complexion has been thrown
" over the whole of it by dark spots
" upon particular parts, which have
" made a deeper impression, both
" upon this House and upon the
" country, than I think was warranted by any consideration of the
" state of our finances ; and I have
" the *consolation* to reflect, that the
" nearer we approach the subject,
" and the more accurately we examine its details, the more ground
" we have to hope that the complexion of our condition has been
" much exaggerated ; and that if
" there are some topics upon which
" we may find *much to lament*, and
" others in which there may be *much to repair* ; yet that there are to be
" found *means* which, united with

"determination, may repair them.
 "The financial situation of this
 "country is indisputably one which
 "requires to be looked at with a
 "steady and scrutinizing eye; but in
 "proportion as it is minutely and
 "accurately examined, I see signs
 "which form a justification of the
 "sanguine hopes I have ventured to
 "express, that the reparation of our
 "situation is neither difficult nor
 "even questionable."

Oh! you "see signs," do you, to make you believe, that the "reparation of our situation [a queer phrase!] is neither "difficult nor even questionable." What are these "signs"? You do not point them out to us; and, the truth is, you see no such signs, and a baby just born understands as much of the matter as you do. After this, the jester goes on to state, that the revenue now falls short of the expenditure by *three millions a year*, and that he means to borrow that three millions. Then he comes to the *Sinking Fund*, which his *new allies* have, for years, contended to be a "*gross deception*," and which he, *with their approbation*, means still to keep up! You will observe, my friends, that, all the while that this "Sinking Fund," that is, a fund for sinking, or lowering, the amount of the Debt; all the while that

this fund is at work, the amount of the Debt keeps RISING! And, well it may, when more is, in one way or another, borrowed and added to the Debt, than the "Sinking Fund" takes away from the Debt. The notions of this man, relative to this fund, are truly curious: if we had nothing more from him than these notions, that would be quite enough to convince us, that he is totally ignorant of the whole subject, and that, if he keep the thing in his hands for only a year, it must fall to pieces without his knowing any thing at all of the cause.

"The Committee cannot fail to perceive, from what I have endeavored to enforce, that I have entertained the expediency of a Sinking Fund (whether it be called by that name or Surplus Expenditure) to assist us in maintaining the national faith and national credit. I may ask the Committee, what would they suppose of a country that was not in a condition to provide for a sudden defalcation of revenue, or an unforeseen emergency? The past year has brought both these necessities upon us—a sudden falling off of revenue, and an emergency coming upon us suddenly and unawares [hear, hear]. What would they think of the situation of a private gentleman who would squander his ascertained income,

“and not lay by a part of it to meet any sudden call that may be made upon him, or demand that ~~any~~ not ~~be foreseen~~ [hear, hear!]? What should be the amount of such a surplus fund, it is not our business now to discuss; but I own that it does appear to my mind that there ought to be a Sinking Fund of not less than five millions on a revenue of fifty millions—less than this we should not have, judging from our own experience and acting consistently with private analogies. I abstain now from expressing how large that fund should be, but express frankly my opinion that it should exist; reserving the determination of its amount, and the reflections which the intervening time may afford, until the whole question of our finances shall be considered. On such an occasion Government should look to the advice of Parliament. The question for the Committee now is, whether the deficiency, which I have stated in round numbers to be three millions or something less, shall be provided for by any extraordinary course, or by taking credit on the Consolidated Fund: and also to wait until next year for the adoption of any measure of a stronger character, should such a measure be deemed necessary.”

Only think of the illustration of the “private gentleman”! This is the way in which these

people have always deceived themselves. Why, you foolish man, we “lay by” nothing in this “Sinking Fund.” We borrow the amount of it, and more, every year. Where, then, is your illustration? We want the amount of the “Sinking Fund” to pay back the sums which we annually borrow; and, the payment is greater than the receipt by the amount of the profits which the Jews and jobbers make out of the transaction.—Now, let us hear his notions of the present state and of the prospects of the country; and of those remedies which he has in his eye. He seems to be afraid to speak, and yet he must say something to keep his adherents in countenance. He manifestly does not know what to do. This is so clear that no one can dispute it. He has found out, at last, that there is one matter, at least, on which jesting has no effect; and that it is necessary, as to this matter, to have something more than alliterations to play off. To be convinced, that he is wholly ignorant upon this great subject, we have only to look at his bare words: in every line we discover, that, if he continue to be the Doctor for only a little time, the THING must die in his hands.

"The present condition of the country is that of *hopeful*, not confirmed *convalescence*. I trust and believe that it is *proceeding to a return of its former power and security* (of course I mean *financial security*), provided it is not, at this *critical period*, tampered with by any *injurious remedy*, or by any sudden *shock*, which may divert it from *the course of prosperity* in which it *is gradually but directly advancing* [cheers]. *I see improvement in our resources*, which induces me to trust *much to the old natural means for relief*, and not to allow ourselves to be *prematurely tempted from that system*, on a perseverance in which I think we may rely for a *realization of our hopes*, and which we ought not *prematurely to abandon without a due consideration of what course to pursue*. If I were to *decide for myself in taking a course like this, without first stating it to Parliament*, I feel that the *responsibility would be too great for me to assume*. But it is because I have *frankly and openly stated it to Parliament*—because I have *nothing to keep back or to colour*—because there is *no concealment*—because I have *no object other than to represent things as they are*, that I have the *courage to wait and expect*, and that I do hope that *more benefit will be derived from leaving things for the present as they are*, than from any premature measure that could be adopted [hear!]."

Oh! "*hopeful but not confirmed convalescence*"! *Convalescence at best*, then! And that, too, at the end of *twelve years of profound peace*, preceded by a war of such "*success*" and so much "*glory*," that they were almost too great for us to bear! *Convalescence!* Hopeful convalescence! Thou art, indeed, a hopeful Minister of Finance. This, in your own words, will tell all foreign nations that they have nothing to fear from us. So that we have been *ill*, while the French and the Americans have been *building fleets!* How those nations must laugh at the thought of our being "*proceeding to a return of our former power and financial security*"! Not *actually returning* yet! Oh, no: but, *going on towards a return to our former power and financial security!* And, even this is, observe, only matter of *belief* with this Budget-man. But, after all, this *belief* that we are thus "*proceeding*" to a return to our former power and financial security; even this belief, which is as slender as the shadow of a mouse's hair, is, in the mind of this grand financier, dependent on two circumstances; namely, that the country be not tampered with by any injurious remedy, or by any

SUDDEN SHOCK, which might divert it from the course of prosperity in which it is advancing. So that, here we have him already in a course of actual prosperity! But, the "*sudden shock*"! What does he mean by a sudden shock? And, what a pretty state he has got us into, if we are liable, every hour, to some sudden shock! If he had read Mr. Paine's writings, instead of abusing the author, as he so frequently has done, he would have known, that "It is in the last stages of the system that *all the great shocks come*"; and, as sure as his name is Canning, he will have a great shock of some sort to encounter, before another twelve months have gone over his head, unless he be turned out of his office long before the end of that time.—The whole of this part of the speech, and, indeed, of every part of it, shows ignorance and fear both in the greatest degree. He has no settled opinion upon any part of the subject; and, like all men, who fear that which is to come, he is for putting off the evil which he does not know how to meet. He says, that he has the "*courage to wait and expect*": a new sort of courage, I presume! A courage which may, with much propriety, be called

the rankest of cowardice. It is that sort of courage which makes the woodcock poke his long bill and his eyes under the fern, and, being in the dark himself, hopes and believes that the hawk does not see him. This brave, this courageous, this waiting and expecting financier, is for leaving things as they are, though he acknowledges, though every line of his speech makes you see that he is convinced that they cannot continue as they are, and that they cannot mend, unless some great measure of change be adopted. He confesses, in this very paragraph, that he dares not propose any measure of change at all, without first having the approbation of Parliament. He says that the responsibility would be too great for him, and, yet he has the emptiness to talk about his having the courage to wait and expect. After this miserable mess; this mess of nondescribable nonsense, he proceeds to state the several items of the receipt and expenditure of the country, which can be of no interest to my readers, when the result is, that, to get along at all, it is necessary to have a loan, this year, of three millions sterling, to be added to the amount of the enormous debt, which is already greater, and far

greater, than ten such nations would be able to pay.—After this, he proceeds, in the same vague and undefined manner as before, to speak of his *intentions with regard to the future*. He describes no intentions, nevertheless: and, you can only still continue to gather from his words, that he knows not what to do; that he cannot even guess at what is likely to happen to the finances; that he does not even hint at any remedy that has occurred to his mind; and, my friends, when you have read the following paragraph, I am satisfied that you will agree with me, that there is no child in the cradle not as fit to face the difficulties of the country as this man is.

“From what I have stated, it is
 “for the Committee to decide, under the circumstances of the country, whether we shall go on through
 “the present year, not in ignorance,
 “but with a *full knowledge of our situation*, and abstain from a change
 “until we await the *growing effects of our present prospects of prosperity*, rather than hastily press forward to that question of financial
 “consideration which stands for next
 “year, with a risk before us of deranging our present accounts without knowing the possible effects of
 “that derangement. In the Supplies
 “of last year, there is an increase,

“beyond the estimated charge, of
 “800,000*l*. This increase arose from
 “certain charges on account of Army
 “Extraordinaries, and on account of
 “the Vote of Credit for Portugal.
 “I know it will be urged that it is
 “desirable to bring us back to a
 “fixed and certain expenditure. As
 “to this, *or any precise limit*, or any
 “future measure, I *forbear from making any promises*; and for this
 “reason, that I have always observed
 “that promises of this kind are always exaggerated by those to whom
 “they are made, and because, as
 “more is expected than is held out,
 “they generally end in disappointment. All I can say on the part
 “of Government is, that Ministers
 “are disposed and determined to apply
 “their best efforts; and that they
 “have resolved to take the House into
 “council on the subject. This is all
 “that, in the circumstances of the
 “country, the House can expect, or
 “that Government can do [cheers].
 “In its present state we should not
 “even aid the country, but leave it
 “to its natural course, and before
 “the adoption of any new measure,
 “wait until the *prosperity of the nation was more unequivocal* [hear,
 “hear!]. I have a confident hope
 “that that prosperity which has commenced will continue to increase;
 “that hope I found on a knowledge
 “and reliance of its *intrinsic energies*—of its ascertained, though
 “not now put-forth power, rather
 “than on any particular circumstances which might, in the state-

"ment, lead into minute and detailed explanation [*cheers*]."

Yes, "*cheer*" away; these cheers never yet failed to come forth upon such occasions. *What* was it that the good folks cheered? They cheered this, that he had a confident hope that our *present prosperity* would continue to increase; that that hope was founded on a knowledge and reliance of the "*intrinsic energies*" of the country, and of its "*ascertained though not put forth power*"! It really makes one sick to hear and much more to repeat, such abominable nonsense. It is worse than the most beastly balderdash of a novel. He talks of a CHANGE; but, this change he puts off until he sees the effects of our present-prospect of prosperity! What reason is this for putting off the change? He talks of a question of finance; some great question of finance, which, he says, "STANDS FOR NEXT YEAR." Why, this is the very first that we have heard of such standing! He did, indeed, say, one night, that he meant to have a Finance-Committee in the next session of Parliament; but, he said nothing to convince any man alive that his whole system would not be blown up before the next

session of Parliament should commence. I shall have more to say, by-and-bye, about this Finance-Committee project; and shall only now, observe, farther, upon these poor, miserable, unintelligible remarks; this poor stuff; this wretched balderdash, that the "*taking of the House into council on the subject*," must naturally give us, who have experienced such blessed effects of the councils of the House, a monstrous deal of consolation. The Ministers are resolved to take the House into council with them on the subject! It is easy to see that this is a mere pretence for getting over the present session without proposing any measure at all for the relief of the country; it is easy to perceive that the Minister and his new allies are wholly unable to suggest any remedy themselves; and that, if they finally resort to such Committee, it will be merely with the hope of obtaining a screen for themselves. But, a Committee, though it may do excellently well for discovering reasons for passing. Power-of-Imprisonment Bills, Banishment Bills, Gagging Bills, and Bills for various other such amiable purposes: though a Parliamentary Committee may be wonderfully efficient for these purposes, for crushing Reformers,

for shutting them up in dungeons, for making political pamphlets too dear to be purchased, and too big to be sold, without loss to the vendor; though a Parliamentary Committee may be quite sufficient for all purposes of this sort, this grand financier; this **SECOND PITT** in finance, and this **SHERIDAN No. 2** in party-fidelity; this grand financier, Portuguese warrior, and **Cornelius Agrippa** man will find that, when he has to cope with the great, the brave, the magnanimous, the incorruptible **ALLY**, whose qualities are so fully described in the motto to this Register; the man of romance will find that, in a combat against her, Parliamentary Committee has no more power than he himself, single-handed, would have; that is to say, unless the said Parliamentary Committee **BLOW HER UP**, and, then, let him observe, that the explosion is sure to bury the enemies of Reform in her ruins!

The conclusion of this most dismal Budget-speech consisted of **AN-OLD SPEECH OF PITT**. The man seemed really to be like a newspaper-article writer, who, for want of time or for want of something to say for himself, resorts to the making of extracts, in order to fill those columns,

which must otherwise go forth blank. This is a man, who, as I have often described him, is totally destitute of the power of *consecutive thinking*. The subjects of money and accounts, and, especially, when the resources are to be taken into consideration, demand, even in the vulgar details of them, something like connexion, of thought. You can see, from the whole of this speech, that **Sheridan No. 2**, had never been able to understand, much less to speak upon, any such matter; you can see that, like all men similarly situated, he had avoided looking at the subject, until the last moment; and that, it must have been with the utmost difficulty that he got worked into his head matter sufficient to make any thing of a speech at all. Now, the other finance fellows, such as **Robinson**, **Vansittart**, **Perceval**, **Old Rose**, **Huskisson**, and even **Castlereagh**, had a devilish deal of *working* in them; got together a multitude of facts; pored over them and talked about them, till they got together a mass of stuff, more or less confused, to be sure; but more than enough to make a good long speech out of; blunder-headed enough, generally wholly destitute of all sound principle; but, making, when all put toge-

tlie, and put forth with tolerable volubility, a great mass of fallacies and intricacies, rounded here and there by bold and swaggering assertions, which, all put together, made a mess for the greedy feeders to satisfy their maws with. But, this poor man really seems to have been turned down, as a merciless nurse turns down her baby without the leading-strings upon a hard floor. "*All alone!*" she cries; and away comes the poor thing, holding out its helpless hands, catching at the first thing it comes near, and at last tumbling upon the floor with a squall. Whether it were conceit and obstinacy, on the part of the Premier, or cruelty on the part of those who sent him forth thus helpless before the public, I know not; but, never, since Budget-making was in fashion, was there beheld a Budget-man so completely contemptible as this.

After having made the senseless speech, almost the whole of which I have given in the above extracts, he, as I observed before, actually concluded with a long extract from AN OLD SPEECH OF PITT; and, this old speech, which, he said, contained the principles on which he himself meant to proceed; this old speech of Pitt was the very speech

in which that shallow and showy fellow introduced his project for *paying off the Debt by the means of a Sinking Fund*: that very speech, I say, in which the flashy Pitt introduced this sublime project for paying of a Debt, and which very project has caused the Debt to swell up from two hundred millions to eight hundred millions, exclusive of four hundred millions more, which is not less Debt than the Funded Debt, now known under the names of Dead-weight and Poor-rates. Pretty principles, then, this financier of ours means to act upon. But, if these be his principles, what need have we of a Finance-Committee, with one of which he is, it seems, to treat us next year. If these be his principles, we know them: they are principles which sanction incessant borrowing and everlasting Debt: they are principles which sanction paper-money down to one pound notes or under; the acting upon which principles must inevitably lead to shocks, to panics, to the breaking-up of merchants, manufacturers, tradesmen, farmers, and gentlemen; to the unjust transfer of property from hand to hand; to the ruin of innumerable industrious and excellent families; to the degradation of the common people in general,

and to the actual starvation of great multitudes of them. Let us, then, once more see this old speech: let us have it before us: let the young men of the present day behold the flashy words by which their grandfathers were induced to consent to that series of measures, to the adoption of that horrible system, which now scourges them, and which, if they had not the sense and courage to abate it, will scourge their children worse than any set of slaves in this world were ever before scourged. But, above all things, let those who have estates, and large estates too, look once more at these delusive words: let them, as they see their parks departing into the hands of the Jews, look back at these words, and see in them the beginning of that train of causes which has led to this departure.

"Before I sit down I will, with the permission of the House, read an extract from an eminent authority in support of the propriety and efficacy of the principles on which I have professed and avowed my reliance. "But there is still another cause, even more satisfactory than these, because it is of a still more extensive and permanent nature—that constant accumulation of capital, that continual tendency to increase the

operation is universally seen in a greater or less proportion, whenever it is not obstructed by some public calamity, or by some mistaken and mischievous policy, but which must be conspicuous and rapid indeed in any country which has at once arrived at an advanced state of commercial prosperity. Simple and obvious as this principle is, and felt and observed as it must have been, in a greater or less degree, even from the earliest periods, I doubt whether it has ever been fully developed and sufficiently explained, but in the writings of an author of our times, now unfortunately no more (I mean the author of a celebrated Treatise on the Wealth of Nations), whose extensive knowledge of detail, and depth of philosophical research, will, I believe, furnish the best solution to every question connected with the history of commerce, or with the systems of political economy. This accumulation of capital arises from the continual application of a part, at least, of the profit obtained in each year, to increase the total amount of capital to be employed in a similar manner, and with continued profit, in the year following. The great mass of the property of the nation is thus constantly increasing at compound interest, the progress of which in any considerable period, is what at first view would

“ appear incredible. Great as have
 “ been the effects of this cause
 “ already, they must be greater in
 “ future; for its powers are aug-
 “ mented in proportion as they
 “ are exerted. It acts with a velo-
 “ city continually accelerated, with
 “ a force continually increased. It
 “ may indeed, as we have ourselves
 “ experienced, be checked or re-
 “ tarded by particular circum-
 “ stances—it may for a time be
 “ interrupted, or even overpower-
 “ ed; but where there is a fund of
 “ productive labour and active in-
 “ dustry, it can never be totally
 “ extinguished. In the season of
 “ theseverest calamity and distress,
 “ its operations will still counter-
 “ act and diminish their effects;
 “ in the first returning interval of
 “ prosperity, it will be active to re-
 “ pair them. If we look to a pe-
 “ riod, like the present, of con-
 “ tinued tranquillity, the difficulty
 “ will be to imagine limits to its
 “ operation. None can be found
 “ while there exists at home any
 “ one object of skill or industry
 “ short of its utmost possible per-
 “ fection—one spot of ground in
 “ the country capable of higher
 “ cultivation and improvement;
 “ or while there remains abroad
 “ any new market that can be ex-
 “ plored, or any existing market
 “ that can be extended. From the
 “ intercourse of commerce, it will
 “ in some measure participate in
 “ the growth of other nations—in
 “ all the possible varieties of their

“ situations. The rude wants of
 “ countries emerging from barbar-
 “ ism, and the artificial and in-
 “ creasing demands of luxury and
 “ refinement, will equally open
 “ new sources of treasure and new
 “ fields of exertion, in every state
 “ of society, and in the remotest
 “ quarters of the globe. It is this
 “ principle which, I believe, ac-
 “ cording to the uniform result of
 “ history and experience, main-
 “ tains, on the whole—in spite of
 “ the vicissitudes of fortune, and
 “ the disasters of empires—a con-
 “ tinued course of successive im-
 “ provement in the general order
 “ of the world.” These are the
 “ words of Mr. Pitt. Adam Smith
 “ is the authority cited. Let those
 “ who regard the application of phi-
 “ losophy to politics as innovation,
 “ go back with me to the principles
 “ avowed in this House by Mr. Pitt
 “ in 1792 [cheers]. I now speak
 “ them from my mouth—I adopt
 “ them as my principles—I proclaim
 “ them to Parliament as the guide
 “ and polar-star of my political
 “ course.” [The Right Honourable
 Gentleman sat down amid loud and
 continued cheers.]

Oh, yes, “ *loud and continued
 cheers*”; just such cheers as were
 bestowed upon Pitt, when he ut-
 tered this old speech, as a preface
 to his grand project of a Sinking
 Fund; that project, which has,

even in this House itself, been a thousand times denominated a delusion and a humbug; that project which the feelosophers tell us their own Dr. Hamilton has discovered to be a cheat; that project which I, in "Paper against Gold," written ten years before Dr. Hamilton ever wrote upon the subject, *proved* as clearly as daylight to have proceeded from one of the silliest heads that ever was placed upon a pair of human shoulders. The principles upon which this project was founded, this Second Pitt tells us he has adopted as his principles, and that he proclaims them to Parliament as the guide and polar star of his political course; whereupon he receives "loud and continued cheers"!

Cheers! Aye, to be sure, and so did Prosperity Robinson, when he proclaimed the glad tidings that this prosperous nation was covered with blessings, "*dispensed from the portals of an ancient constitutional monarchy.*" Cheers! loud and continued cheers! And did not Vansittart receive the same, when he, in 1811, proclaimed to Parliament that a one-pound note and a shilling were equal in value to a golden guinea of full weight and fineness? And did not Solon Peel receive equally loud and continued cheers, when he, in

1819, proclaimed to Parliament that a one pound note and a shilling had been, in 1811, worth only about sixteen shillings in gold? Cheers, indeed! When were these cheers wanting, to a man who had the public money to dispense? Loud and continued cheers followed the speech of Castlereagh, when he ascribed the public distress to a sudden transition from war to peace. Lord Liverpool was cheered when he ascribed the distresses of the country to *Overproduction*, at the very moment when money was voted by the Parliament to save from starvation a considerable portion of the people. Loud and continued cheers regaled the ears of this same Canning; this very same second Pitt, when he said, upon the passing of Peel's Bill, that now the *question was set at rest for ever*; and cheers not less loud, attended his worthy colleague, Castlereagh, when he, in 1822, proposed the measure that partly repealed that Bill. Loud and continued cheers regaled the ears of this same Canning, when he decried that famous Bill of 1822; cheered again he was, when, last year, he proposed the Act which is, next April twelve-month, to put an end to the Bill

of 1822; but, and here is an end of the cheering, cheers *will not salute his ears* when he shall have to propose a something (God knows what it will be) to *prevent his Bill of last year from going into effect*; for, that is what he must do, or, he will absolutely be lost in the scramble, and will never be heard of or read of again, except in the pages of this Register.

So much for the Budget-speech of this our grand financier, of this our Pitt the second; for, like him he is, in every thing, except that he has a little more of indiscretion, a little more shallowness and a little less of what the other might have had a great deal more of without having a bit too much. So much for his part in this financial debate. Mr. HUME, who followed him, and who appears to have been almost the only person who uttered opinions opposite to his, said many things showing the fallacy of the prospects held out by Pitt the second; pressing for an immediate reduction of expenses; but, containing one fallacy as great, as complete, of tendency as mischievous, and even, more mischievous, than any thing said by the financier himself, whose speech, indeed, was perfectly harmless, calculated to

deceive nobody of any sense, and to excite nothing in the public mind, except that universal contempt which has been bestowed upon it. The chief burthen of Mr. Hume's speech was, that the financial affairs of the country might be retrieved by what he called *economy*. He said, and very truly, that those who used to sit on the same side of the House with himself, but who were now gone he knew not whither, used to say the same thing; but that, now, they either held their tongues upon the subject, or held opinions wholly different from those which they then held. This is very true; but, those opinions were always just as false as those of Mr. Hume are now. Mr. Hume is reported to have said, upon this occasion, that the course to be pursued was *to reduce our expenditure*; and, then, we find these words: "In two short months he would pledge himself to reduce our expenditure by from five to seven millions; and that he would do this without inflicting injury upon any department of the public service."

Now, the army, the navy, the ordnance, the odds and ends belonging to both, the places and pensions and so forth: all these amount to about twenty millions

a year. After that, there are upwards of forty millions left of expenditure. Mr. Hume looks merely at the little *deficiency in the revenue*. He seems to think that it would be enough if the present expenditure could be brought down to the present revenue. He seems to forget that it is the present revenue, whether it falls short of the expenditure or not, which is pressing the people to the earth. Besides, though he bids pretty fairly for the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer; though he tells us that he would take off seven millions without inflicting injury upon any department of the public service; he is not condescending enough to tell us in what department he would make his reductions. Fund-holders, tax-gatherers, and all the whole body, except the army, the navy, and their contingencies, including places and pensions: all these would require taxation to the amount of more than forty millions a year; and, does Mr. Hume imagine that that forty millions a year, **IN GOLD**, observe, as it must be, very shortly; does he imagine, that that forty millions a year could be collected by the use of any means whatever? But, he proposes to take off but *seven millions*. If he were to take off the whole of the twenty mil-

lions, does he imagine that the forty could be collected **IN REAL GOLD**? If he do, March hare never was madder than he!

Mr. Hume seems to forget that the taxes are now, in effect, paid in paper-money, for the greater part. He seems to forget that this paper-money is to cease in about twenty-one months from this day. The man is mad, stark staring mad, who believes that fifty-three millions of taxes could be collected after the cessation of that paper-money; for, and Pitt the Second will make the discovery, *without one pound notes*, there is, in fact, very little aid to be derived from paper-money; and, Sheridan No. 2, if he ask Hudson Gurney, who never issues any thing but five-pound notes, will find, that five-pound notes without one - pound notes, are like greyhounds without legs and pigeons without wings.

Nevertheless, this notion about "retrenchment and economy;" this economical reform, as the canting old Whigs have called it for so many years, seems to have still stuck in the heads of Lords Althorp and Milton. Mr. Brougham, indeed, contented himself with cutting some sarcasms on Mr. Hume. He contented himself with saying that he thought

that the loan proposed by Canning was the best plan. In short, he made a speech approving of this financial statement and picture of Canning, and uttered words which, as we may have to refer to them hereafter, as we have had to refer so often to those of Prosperity Robinson, I shall put on record, as follows:—

“He was one of those who felt perfect satisfaction at the statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on a former occasion, and renewed that night. He was perfectly satisfied, with the promise of a Finance Committee in the ensuing year; he looked to the Report of that Committee for the greatest and most important information with respect to the Debt, the Taxes, and the Public Expenditure. If he looked with confidence to the Report of a Committee appointed in Mr. Pitt's day—if he looked with confidence to the Finance Committee appointed in 1817—he trusted that he should not be considered sanguine, if he entertained strong expectations from the Committee to be appointed next year; and the more so, when he saw a better light, both with respect to trade and to finance, breaking in through the walls of that House, since the appointment of the last Committee; when he reflected that great errors had been swept away from our commercial

policy—when he looked back upon what had been truly remarked by Dean Swift, in his Financial Arithmetic—when, speaking of excise and customs, observed, that two and two did not always make four, that sometimes they did not make three, and often not even two—when he perceived that the increase of taxes, instead of adding to the Revenue, generally caused a defalcation—when he considered that taking off taxes had added to the Revenue in almost every instance in which it had been tried—when he knew that lightening the burthens of the people added to, instead of decreasing the weight of the public purse—when he found that the light was slowly, late, but surely and steadily breaking in, as well upon the country as upon the minds of Members of that House; and enlightening the darkness in which they had hitherto sat there—he had great and ardent hopes in the Report of that Committee [hear, hear!]. In his opinion the Chancellor of the Exchequer had acted right, well, and wisely, in not giving to the House an exaggerated picture of the prosperity of the country; he had done well, too; not to draw a too florid, a too picturesque representation of the financial resources of the country. He (Mr. Brougham) had had too much of Budgets brought forward by different Ministers, to trust implicitly to any statement of that kind, which it had been his fortune

"to hear. He must say—and he
 "was sure the Right Honourable
 "Gentleman (Mr. Canning) would
 "forgive him, when he made the
 "observation—that he always felt
 "the suspicious character in which
 "a Chancellor of the Exchequer
 "came forward. It might be, that
 "a man's feeling or his prejudice
 "led him to imagine his statements
 "true; but still they must be received
 "with doubt; therefore it was that
 "he gave the Right Honourable
 "Gentleman credit for not having
 "overcharged his statement either
 "of the finances or resources of the
 "country. *There was no doubt that*
 "*the country was recovering from that*
 "*great and pressing distress, under*
 "*which it had laboured, and which*
 "*every man must deplore.* The most
 "extensive sources of information
 "from various quarters—informa-
 "tion upon which he could place
 "the greatest reliance—information
 "coming, too, from men the least in
 "the world likely to give an exag-
 "gerated account of the country's
 "prosperity, and they confirmed
 "him in the conviction—a conviction
 "for the first time, within the last
 "eighteen months, was now im-
 "pressed upon him, *that the country*
 "*was in a gradual, a slow, but there-*
 "*fore a more trust-worthy and perma-*
 "*nent state of improvement* [hear,
 "hear, hear!]. It seemed to him
 "that the plan now submitted to the
 "Committee was a plan for gradual,
 "and, therefore, in all probability,
 "*for permanent reduction.*"

When Brougham uttered these
 words, he was not aware, nor is
 he aware, now, that they would
 have to be quoted against him.
 They are subject fit for a good
 long commentary; but, this is not
 the time to make that commentary.
 When his expected *Finance-Com-*
 "*mittee shall have made their re-*
 "*port; when they shall have told*
 "*us the means by which we are to*
 "*be saved; then will be the time*
 "*to remind Mr. Brougham of this*
 "*his approbation of Canning and*
 "*his measures.* We will now no-
 "tice what was said by Lord Al-
 "thorp and by Lord Milton; what
 "reasons they gave for not oppos-
 "ing the Minister upon this occa-
 "sion.

"Lord Althorp said, that although
 "he was afraid that the statements
 "of the Right Honourable Gentle-
 "man were too sanguine, and that
 "the country was in great difficulties,
 "and required immediate attention
 "to retrenchment, he did not there-
 "fore agree with the Honourable
 "Member for Aberdeen, that the
 "House ought, *at the present time, to*
 "*press upon the Chancellor of the Ex-*
 "*chequer.* It was not fair, upon the
 "Right Honourable Gentleman's
 "coming into office, to compel him to
 "go into questions of detail. It would
 "be bad policy to do so with respect
 "to the future reduction of the ex-
 "penditure. He was perfectly well

"satisfied, that if the Chancellor of
 "the Exchequer examined into the
 "financial state of the country, the
 "more deeply he investigated, the
 "more power he would find himself
 "possessed of to reduce the expendi-
 "ture. But if the Right Hon. Gen-
 "tleman were to be forced into such
 "an inquiry at the present moment, he
 "would have great difficulty and
 "less hope of effecting any reduction
 "in future. The Right Honourable
 "Gentleman had expressed his in-
 "tention of proposing the formation
 "of a Finance Committee in the next
 "Session of Parliament, and he
 "(Lord Althorp) had no doubt that
 "it would be a Committee entitled to
 "the confidence of the country. The
 "Chancellor of the Exchequer well
 "knew that it was impossible, at the
 "present day, for any Committee to
 "give satisfaction to the House or
 "to the public, unless it was fairly
 "composed of gentlemen able and deter-
 "mined to do their duty. He (Lord
 "Althorp) looked forward to the
 "appointment of that Committee as
 "an object of great importance, for if
 "he did not expect, and if he should
 "not hereafter find, that it recom-
 "mended the most strict economy in
 "every branch of the public expen-
 "diture, it would be impossible for
 "him to give his support to the Ad-
 "ministration. Whatever other ad-
 "vantages the country might gain
 "by possessing the present Ministers,
 "he thought it right to state, dis-
 "tinctly and positively, that if great

"economy were not introduced into all
 "the Estimates of the next year, he
 "should feel himself obliged to with-
 "draw his support from the Govern-
 "ment. If the Committee were fairly
 "constituted, he felt no doubt that
 "very great reductions would be brought
 "forward. He thought the increase
 "of the Unfunded Debt extremely
 "disadvantageous, and, under other
 "circumstances, no man would be
 "more ready than himself to oppose
 "it; but under all the present cir-
 "cumstances, he thought it best for
 "the country that it should be agreed
 "to."

Here, then, his Lordship ex-
 pressly says, that he shall insist
 upon a reduction of expenditure,
 as the condition upon which he
 shall continue to support the Mi-
 nister! Alas, poor Minister! If
 he reduce the expenditure, he
 may as well at once march out of
 his office, for, the devil of any
 body will he have to support him
 if once he seriously begin any
 such reduction. Colonel DAVIES
 seems to have had the strangest
 idea in his head, that ever came
 into the head of mortal man. "He
 "thought that the Right Honour-
 "able Gentleman was too sound
 "a politician, as well as too good
 "a tactician, not to know that he
 "would best strengthen his power
 "and add to his popularity by re-
 "ducing the expenditure of the

"country, and not to go on as
 "the late administration did."—
 "Late," Colonel! Why Canning
 was one of the late administration:
 he was the *champion* of it, as
 Burdett called him in the Crib
 letter: he was the champion of
 expenditure and of heavy taxes.
 "Strengthen his popularity," you
 say. That is possible; but his
power consists of votes: and do
 you think, Colonel, that he is
 likely to get votes by lopping off
 pensions, places, pay, jobs, and
 putting an end to loans? Do you
 think that, Colonel? If you do,
 say so at once. Mr. Canning,
 however he may be deficient in
 other branches of knowledge, is
 too good a "tactician" not to know
 just the contrary of what you say
 he must know. Lord Milton seems
 to be duly impressed with the dif-
 ficulties that Canning would have
 to encounter, if he were to attempt
 to act upon your advice. He
 seems to see the applications
 which the Ministers would have
 to resist. Those applications are
 so numerous, so various in their
 nature, coming from so many
 quarters, that, to think of resisting
 them and to keep his place too, is
 what Canning is much too cunning
 for. Let us, however, before we
 proceed any further, hear the opi-
 nions of Lord Milton.

"Lord *Milton* said, he could not
 "entirely agree with his Honourable
 "Friend's (Mr. Hume's) opinions
 "upon that occasion. His Honour-
 "able Friend had arraigned his Ma-
 "jesty's Government for not having
 "at once come forward with some
 "specific financial plan. Now he
 "(Lord Milton) thought, that if ever
 "there was a period when it would
 "be improper to introduce a specific
 "and permanent financial plan, it
 "was the present [hear, hear!].
 "For although the distress and suf-
 "fering under which the country
 "had been unhappily labouring for
 "the last two years were, in a great
 "degree, decreasing; still no man
 "could pretend to say, *that the*
 "*country was restored to that state*
 "*of calmness and tranquillity which*
 "*would enable Government to take a*
 "*full review of the financial state of*
 "*the country, and of the difficulties*
 "which they had to meet, in such a
 "manner as would justify them in
 "calling for the confidence and co-
 "operation of that House. [Hear,
 "hear!] If former Governments had
 "exerted themselves, and had, in
 "fact, exhausted the means of mak-
 "ing the expenditure meet the in-
 "come of the country, then, indeed,
 "he should despair. But when he
 "looked back to what had taken
 "place within the last few years,
 "he felt that it was greatly to
 "be deplored that the public ex-
 "penditure had not only not been
 "greatly decreased but had been

"considerably augmented. [Hear, hear!]. For this, however, that House was quite as much to blame as the Government. As to the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Canning), he felt that he should do him injustice if he thought he would shrink from proposing to the Committee to be appointed next year, the reductions which were called for by the state of the country. But if the Right Honourable Gentleman meant to do this, he must brace himself up against all applications; he must put on the whole armour of denial to the claims made upon him; he must stand in a different situation from his predecessors in office; but, above all things, he would impress upon the Right Honourable Gentleman the necessity of resisting the importunities of those who possessed a great share of Parliamentary influence in that House [loud cries of hear, hear, hear!]. He (Lord Milton) was aware that there was nothing more difficult, in the situation in which the Right Honourable Member was placed, than to resist the applications to which he was exposed. It would not be proper, or rather it would not be parliamentary, in him to make any more direct allusion to those applications [hear, hear!]. He trusted, however, that under the auspices of the Right Honourable Gentleman the claims would be resisted, and that reduc-

tions would be made in the public expenditure."

I cannot say that I am satisfied with what was said by these two noblemen with regard to putting off economy to the next year. One of them says that the House ought not, at the present time, to press upon the Chancellor, just at his coming into office; that it would be *bad policy* to do so. The other lord says, that this is the *most improper period* for going into the subject of finance. But, unfortunately, neither of these lords gives us any reasons for this their opinion; except, indeed, the circumstance of Canning having just come into office; a very poor reason, truly; for, if it is a better order of things which he is to introduce, why postpone the commencement of it, why not let us have the benefit of his improvements at once? If these lords be sincere, their conduct seems to me the strangest in the world.

However, we have, in this debate, two things stated to us; namely, that Lords Althorp and Milton will not continue to support Canning, unless he, in the ensuing Session of Parliament, set incurrent about a reduction of the public expenditure. Let that be borne in mind; and let it be borne in mind, too, that I tell

Canning, that, if he do set in earnest about a reduction of the public expenditure, and if he continue to oppose Parliamentary Reform at the same time, he will be turned out of his office, at the end of a month, or thereabouts, from the beginning of his reductions.

Another thing which we have stated to us in this debate, is, that there is to be a *Parliamentary Committee of Finance* in the next session; that Lord Althorp, Lord Milton, Mr. Brougham, Sir Henry Patnoll, and several others, have expressed the great hopes that they entertain of the great benefits to be derived from the labours of this Committee. All is referred, it seems, to this wonder-working Committee. The Catholic world seem never to have been in greater expectation on the prospect of seeing a general council held. Canning says, that the Ministers have resolved to **TAKE THE HOUSE INTO COUNCIL WITH THEM**. Aye, aye, Canning, "take the House into council with

you," as long as you please; lay your plans of war, sketch your campaign before-hand; but, never, never will you succeed against that gallantly of the Reformers which I have described in the motto to this Register. It is not the dribblets of revenue; it is not the cheese-parings and candle-ends of Downing Street that you have to deal with or concern yourselves about. The angry barkings of *Joseph Hume* are to be effectually enough met by the answers of *Joe Miller*; but our gallant ally is not to be faced by jibes and conundrums; alliterations and antitheses are no weapons to bring into this field. It must be *reduction indeed* that will satisfy our ally. You must put on the whole armour of radicalism; you must tear corruption up to the very fibres, or our ally will bury you and all your adherents in the ruins of your own system.

In conclusion, my friends, readers of the Register, either this Finance-Committee is a mere pretence for putting off the work of

reducing expenditure, or, it is intended as a sort of assistant to the ministry in proposing some change of system; some mode of getting rid of the Debt, or of a part of the Debt. Sir HENRY PARNELL observed, in this debate, that he thought it incumbent on the Chancellor of the Exchequer to devise some means of reducing the National Debt. If Sir Henry Parnell should go across the House, and get a place, and a look, of course, into the nation's affairs, he would see that this reduction was no child's play, and would, of course, cease, like Mr. Tierney and Mr. Brougham, to talk about the matter. In the mean while, until he shall actually cross the House, I dare say Canning would be very much obliged to him, if he could tell him *how to go to work to reduce the Debt!* Look at her, Sir Henry! Look at our ally, as described in my motto: look well at her. No: you turn away your head, just as the dogs are said to turn away their head at the sight of a lion: instinct bids you to turn

away your eyes the moment she appears.

But, my friends, if this Committee should actually meet, it will meet within about a twelvemonth of the day when one-pound notes are to cease. This will trouble the brains of the Committee. They will have to find out the means of collecting more than *sixty millions of taxes in gold*; and this, I take it, the bare thought of it, if they be sober, will frighten the Committee out of their wits. The revenue, and all the schemes about long and short annuities, and all the brilliant schemes and hopes of Canning, will all vanish from the heads of the Committee, when once they put to themselves the serious question, "How are we to collect sixty millions a year in gold?" Therefore, if there really be to be such a Committee, and if the scheme have originated with any man of sense, this Committee must be intended to be an organ for the introducing of some scheme or other, of ASSIGNATS, or of LITTLE SHILLINGS, or of EQUITA-

BLE ADJUSTMENT. From Brougham and the Marquis of Lansdown I should expect a something or other not, perhaps, altogether unlike the scheme propounded the other day in the document of equivocal generation. However, this is all mere conjecture: no one can even guess at what is intended. To use the fantastical words of Canning, we must *have the "courage to wait and expect;"* and, in the full assurance that the result, in spite of every contrivance that can be resorted to, will be a shaking of the false money system to pieces, a restoration of the use of the King's solid Coin, and a restoration of the rights of the people; having the "*courage to wait and to expect*" these things,

I remain

Your faithful friend and

Most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

POSTSCRIPT. — Since writing the above, I have seen a manuscript copy of the "*Bank Circular,*" relative to which SIR JOHN WROTTESLEY was to make a motion this night in the House of Commons. This paper was declared by MR. MANNING not to have been authorised *by the Directors*; but, that it came from the Bank, or somebody closely connected with it, there can be no doubt, and there is no doubt in my mind; and I think the concluding part of it, namely, that part which lays it down as a principle, "*That all vested interests of the parties issuing paper-money, should be deemed subservient to the national interests,*" must have been dictated by somebody closely connected with the Government. This document, therefore, ought to be considered, in my opinion, as a certain proof, that fears of the approach of another *panic* are very prevalent.

THE NEXT REGISTER

WILL be addressed to LORD WESTMORELAND. People will wonder WHAT the devil I can have to say to him! They will see; but, I will now say, that I intend to show the Lords how to shove out Canning, Burdett, and that motley crew, and how to secure their own estates; two things, I take it, that they must want very much to know..

TULIP-TREE WOOD.

I HAVE for sale *fifty-four* planks of this wood, averaging about *thirty feet* in each plank. They are *two and a half inches* thick. Some are about fourteen feet long; others not, probably, more than ten feet. Some are between *three and four feet* wide; others not, perhaps, more than two feet. The planks are just *as wide at one end as at the other*; and there is not a *single knot*, or *curl*, in the whole parcel of *one thousand, five hundred and eighty-one feet*.

MICHAUX, in his North American Sylva, says of the tree, that he saw one *twenty-two feet six inches* in circumference; at *five feet* from the ground; and that he judged the tree to be a *hundred*

and forty feet high. OF the WOOD, Michaux says what every body in America knows; namely, that it is in colour of a pale yellow; that its grain is very fine; that the wood is both *light* and *strong*; that it is used in rafters, shingles, door-panels, bedsteads, wainscoting, chair-bottoms, large bowls, and particularly, in all parts of America, in making the *panels of coaches* and other pleasure carriages; and, so much is this the case, that it is carried hundreds of miles to be used in those places, *near to which it does not grow*.

The wood admits of a *beautiful polish*, and is used for various purposes by cabinet-makers. Of these planks that I have, a *single plank* would make a kitchen-dresser, or table; a servants' hall table; a slab for a dairy or a larder; fine things; I should think, for *cutting-boards*, *shop-boards*, counters, *show-boards*, or almost any thing, which requires a very large breadth of wood in one single, smooth piece. Being $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, these planks are strong enough for any thing.

The price for the whole parcel, **ONE SHILLING and THREE-PENCE A FOOT**; for any quantity less than the whole, and exceeding a hundred feet, **ONE**

SHILLING AND SIXPENCE
A FOOT; and for a *single plank*,
ONE SHILLING AND NINE-
PENCE A FOOT. So that a
 plank, 14 feet long, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet
 wide, which, with a couple of
 trestles, would make a table to
 dine *twenty people*, would cost
 only *four pounds five shillings*; it
 might be kept as clean as a marble
 slab, and with nearly as little
 trouble, and would last for many
 a life-time.

The planks are at *my house at*
Kensington, where they may be
 seen, by *application to the gar-*
dener, at any hour between four
 in the morning and five in the

afternoon. There is the *mark* on
 each plank, expressing the *num-*
ber of feet which it contains. The
 marks were put on in America, and,
 therefore, are according to our old-
 fashioned English *kingly* measure,
 and not according to the grand and
 sublime "IMPERIAL MEA-
 SURE," which, being an "*im-*
provement of the age," produced
 by "*liberal principles*," the off-
 spring of the "*march of mind*,"
 gauges (in defiance of Bedlam)
 ale, metes oysters, and ascertains
 the length and width of shirting,
 by the "beat of a *pendulum* in a
 "heat of sixty-two degrees of
 "Fahrenheit's Thermometer"!

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending May 25.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat ..	58	0	Rye	40	9
Barley ..	40	2	Beans ...	49	11
Oats	29	0	Pease ...	48	11

Total Quantity of Corn returned as Sold in the Maritime Districts, for the week ended May 25.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	40,941	Rye	257
Barley ..	5,117	Beans . . .	1,216
Oats ...	9,025	Pease	47

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, May 26.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat..	5,534	for 16,985	14	3	Average.	61	4
Barley..	139	..	286	5	6.....	41	2
Oats..	1,318	..	2,129	19	3.....	32	3
Rye....	6	..	10	15	4.....	35	10
Beans..	444	..	1,115	0	3.....	50	2
Pease ..	432	..	1,031	3	8.....	47	8

Friday, June 1.—There are this week more moderate arrivals of all kinds of Corn than for several weeks past. Wheat remains in a dull state at the terms last quoted. Barley continues so scarce as to render the prices nearly nominal. Beans and Pease meet very few buyers at present. Oats of good quality fully maintain the terms of Monday, but there is not an extensive demand to-day.

Monday, June 4.—The current opinion in this market is, that the additional clause introduced into the Corn Bill will prove fatal to that measure, unless it should be expunged in another stage of the proceedings; and as the supply of Wheat is scanty, higher prices are asked for that article, and all the Kentish samples were quickly cleared off at 2s. to 3s. per quarter, and most of the Essex samples at 3s. per qr. advance on the terms of this day se'nnight.

Barley and Beans are both so very scarce as to render the prices almost nominal. There are still several samples of Pease (particularly White) left, and they sell slowly at last quotations. There has been a good attendance of country buyers here to-day, and they have purchased Oats, but not with much freedom, the prices, therefore, of this article remain as last quoted, with plenty of Feed left unsold. There has been a strong attempt again to advance the top price of Flour, which, after some opposition from the Flour Factors, may be considered as established at 55s. per sack.

Price on board Ship as under.

Flour, per sack	50s. — 55s.
— Seconds	44s. — 48s.
— North Country ..	42s. — 46s.

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. Loaf is stated at 9d. by the full-priced Bakers.

Account of Wheat, &c. arrived in the Port of London, from May 23 to June 2, both inclusive.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	3,413	Tares	—
Barley ..	185	Linseed ..	1,689
Malt	4,372	Rapeseed ..	—
Oats	1,441	Brank ..	22
Beans	247	Mustard ..	—
Flour	5,572	Flax	—
Rye	8	Hemp	44
Pease	101	Seeds	—

Foreign.—Wheat, 290; Barley, 2,216; Oats, 7,838; Beans, 1,820 quarters.

Price of Hops, per Cwt. in the Borough.

Monday, June 4.—The accounts from the plantations state, generally, a great increase of fly upon the lower grounds, while some of the higher and more exposed situations, the last two days, have rather decreased, owing to the high and cold winds; but the deposit already made is of that extent, that a few warm muggy days, with showers, will bring into life as great a quantity of lice as in 1823 and 1825, and probably may prove as destructive. Prices, owing to many holders being determined to realize for New, gave way 20s. to 30s.; but to-day a greater firmness is general.—Currency: Sussex pockets, 6*l.* 10*s.* to 7*l.* 15*s.*; Kent, 7*l.* 7*s.* to 8*l.* 10*s.* The sale to-morrow of about 1000 bags and pockets of Old, will show the confidence of the trade; duty estimated at 55,000*l.* to 58,000*l.* Letters from Essex and Farnham, which ten days ago were clear, are now as much affected with fly as others; and from Worcester accounts are as bad, their duty doing at 6,000*l.*

Maidstone, May 31.—Our accounts are rather more favourable to-day, as the fly does not appear at present to have made that increase which many of the Planters expected, and in consequence the trade has been particularly dull, and several lots of both bags and pockets, although offered at low prices, have not been sold.

SMITHFIELD.

Monday, June 4.—The trade of this Market was very heavy on Friday, and prices fell; though not so much in Beef as in Mutton, which had an extraordinary drop. The former was lower by about 2*d.* a stone, and the latter 6*d.* to 8*d.* a stone. Lamb also experienced a considerable reduction. The fineness of the weather, and the supply, have this day combined to keep the market in a state of depression. Scot beasts are about 10*s.* a head worse than this day se'nnight; and large Beasts near £1. Polled Sheep are no higher than 4*s.* 8*d.*; nor are Downs above 5*s.*, all out of the Wool. Lamb from 5*s.* to 6*s.*, and the trade dull for every thing.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	4	4	to	5 4
Mutton ...	4	0	—	5 0
Veal	5	0	—	6 0
Pork	4	2	—	4 8
Lamb	5	0	—	6 0
Beasts . . .	1,719		Sheep ..	20,030
Calves ...	210		Pigs ...	161

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	8	to	4 8
Mutton ...	3	8	—	4 8
Veal	3	8	—	5 8
Pork	4	0	—	6 0
Lamb	4	8	—	6 8

LEADENHALL, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef ...	3	8	to	4 8
Mutton ...	3	4	—	4 6
Veal	3	4	—	5 8
Pork	4	0	—	5 8
Lamb	3	8	—	6 8

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS, per Ton.

	l.	s.	l.	s.
Ox Nobles.....	3	10	to	0 0
Middlings.....	2	5	—	0 0
Chats.....	0	0	—	0 0
Common Red..	3	10	—	0 0
Onions, Os. Od.—Os. Od.	per bush.			

BOROUGH, per Ton.

	l.	s.	l.	s.
Ox Nobles.....	3	10	to	4 0
Middlings.....	2	0	—	0 0
Chats.....	0	0	—	0 0
Common Red..	3	0	—	0 0

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay....	80s.	to	115s.
Straw....	36s.	to	42s.
Clover....	95s.	to	140s.
St. James's.—Hay....	80s.	to	120s.
Straw....	36s.	to	46s.
Clover....	105s.	to	148s.
Whitechapel.—Hay....	84s.	to	115s.
Straw....	36s.	to	42s.
Clover....	90s.	to	135s.

AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN, sold in the Maritime Counties of
England and Wales, for the Week ended May 25, 1827.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
London*.....	62	0	40	10	33	2
Essex.....	59	10	38	10	29	10
Kent.....	58	4	40	1	31	8
Sussex.....	56	11	0	0	32	11
Suffolk.....	57	2	37	5	31	3
Cambridgeshire.....	56	10	36	5	26	8
Norfolk.....	56	4	37	1	20	6
Lincolnshire.....	57	3	40	2	26	0
Yorkshire.....	57	0	41	1	26	1
Durham.....	57	6	41	8	35	10
Northumberland.....	56	7	39	1	32	9
Cumberland.....	62	0	42	4	35	4
Westmoreland.....	65	0	43	8	41	0
Lancashire.....	64	0	0	0	33	0
Cheshire.....	63	2	0	0	35	1
Gloucestershire.....	57	3	43	0	40	1
Somersetshire.....	56	0	37	4	33	1
Monmouthshire.....	60	3	44	0	0	0
Devonshire.....	58	2	39	10	33	9
Cornwall.....	64	8	41	2	38	5
Dorsetshire.....	56	0	40	9	34	0
Hampshire.....	57	3	42	2	30	4
North Wales.....	67	9	46	6	36	6
South Wales.....	63	10	46	0	27	1

* The London Average is always that of the Week preceding.

Liverpool, May 29.—The demand for all sorts of Grain has been very limited during the week, and at our Corn Exchange this day the transactions were trifling. Wheat and Flour in bond, dull.

Imported into Liverpool, from May 22 to May 28, 1827, inclusive:—Wheat, 7,465; Barley, 998; Oats, 14,138; Rye, 400; Beans, 1,313; Pease, 84 quarters; Flour, 1,230 sacks, per 280 lbs.; Oatmeal, 301 packs, per 240 lbs.; American Flour, 300 barrels.

Derby, June 2.—Our Market this day was well attended by farmers and millers, and all sorts of Grain rather lower.—Best Wheat, 58s. to 63s.; Barley, 38s. to 46s.; Oats, 30s. to 38s.; and Beans, 54s. to 62s. per eight bushels Imperial measure.

Horncastle, June 2.—Our Market this day was thinly attended. Prices nearly the same as last week.—Wheat, from 54s. to 57s.; Barley, 40s. to 44s.; Oats, 26s. to 34s.; Beans, 60s. to 64s.; and Rye from 38s. to 40s. per quarter.

Ipswich, June 2.—Our market to-day was very shortly supplied with all Grain. Prices were much the same as last week. Spring Corn in general seems almost entirely exhausted; scarcely any Beans; no Pease are to be seen, and only a sample or two of Barley; and 42s. was generally asked for them. Wheat sold at from 54s. to 63s. per quarter.

Manchester, June 2.—Our market to-day was well supplied with Corn of most descriptions, the finest qualities of which reached the prices of this day. so-nigh; inferior descriptions nearly unsaleable. The transactions have been on a limited scale, not being such as to alter the currency of this day week. In Malt and Flour no alteration.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, June 2.—We had a short supply of Wheat from the farmers this morning, and not having much from any other source, the millers gave readily last week's prices. Rye sells slowly at former prices. Nothing doing in Barley. We had a small supply of Oats from the farmers, but a good many samples from granary this morning; and the demand from the consumers being slack, very few sales were effected, although lower prices would have been taken by the sellers.

Norwich, June 2.—We had a tolerable good supply of Wheat to-day, and prices a little lower than last week.—Red, 52s. to 57s.; White to 60s.; Barley, only a few small parcels, at 36s. to 38s.; Oats, 28s. to 32s.; Beans, 43s. to 48s.; Pease, 44s. to 48s.; Boilers, to 50s. per quarter; and Flour, 41s. to 42s. per sack.

Reading, June 2.—We had a good supply of Wheat this day, which at the opening of the market met a heavy sale, and prices on the average were 1s. lower.—Towards the close, intelligence arriving that the Warehousing system had been materially altered, last night in the House of Lords, the market became more firm, and the growers held over for higher prices. There were only four parcels of Barley pitched, and these sold on rather better terms than last week. In Oats, Beans, and Pease, very little was done.

Wakefield, June 1.—We have again a large supply of Wheat to this day's market, and buyers not being disposed to purchase more than for their immediate wants, the trade has been very dull, and up to the close of the market not much business has been done: the rates obtained generally are the same as last week; in some instances rather lower prices have been taken. Oats are dull, and lower. Shelling is very heavy at 2s. per load cheaper.

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Horncastle, June 2.—Beef, 9s. per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton, 6d. to 7d.; Lamb 7d. to 8d.; and Veal, from 7d. to 8d. per lb.

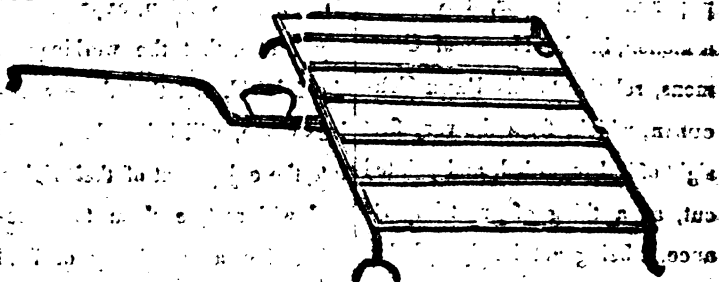
Manchester Smithfield Market, May 30.—The supply of Sheep, Pigs, and Lambs, to this day's market continues to be large, but of Cattle and Calves it was small. Mutton fully supports the price of this day week, but the quantity sold was not equal to that day's sale. Grass being now plentiful, the drovers preferred waiting another week, rather than submit to less terms. The fat Beasts were taken off readily at an advance of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. on last week's rates. The price of Lamb being nearly that of Mutton, the demand was good at $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. reduction from the price of this day se'nnight. In Veal and Pork no alteration.—Beef, 5d. to 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Mutton, 7d. to 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Lamb, 8d. to 9d.; Veal, 6d. to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; and Pork, 4d. to 5d. per lb., sinking offal.

At *Morpeth Fair*, May 30, there was a very short supply of Cattle, which sold readily, at an advance in price.—Beef, from 7s. 6d. to 8s. 6d.; Mutton, 7s. 3d. to 9s. 4d.; Lamb, 8s. 3d. to 9s. 6d. per stone, sinking offal.

Norwich Castle Meadow, June 2.—The supply of fat Cattle to-day was small, prices 8s. to 8s. 6d. per stone of 14 lbs., sinking offal: that of all the Store Stock was large; Scots, 4s. to 4s. 6d. per stone of what they will weigh when fat; Shorthorns, 3s. to 3s. 9d.; Cows and Calves and Home-breds, quite a flat sale. Pigs, hardly saleable, unless forward.—Meat: Beef, 7d. to 9d.; Veal, 6d. to 8d.; Mutton, 6d. to 7d.; Lamb, 7d.; and Pork, 6d. to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

VOL. 62.—No. 12.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 16, 1837. [Price 6d.]



"But, if some event were to happen which would shake the Bo-roughmongers by their own means; some event which would make them stagger under their own weight; some event which would bring them to a stand, not knowing which way to turn themselves; then, indeed, they must give way. I could suppose many events, that would have operated thus; but, the event, which I was sure would be effectual, and which I was sure would, sooner or later, take place, was the blowing up, or, at least, the total discredit of the Funding system by a failure in the means of paying the interest of the Debt in FULL AND IN GOLD. It was, therefore, my opinion, that it was not prudent to urge on the cause of Reform to what might be called a pitched battle with its enemies, until those enemies were at war amongst themselves."—REGISTER (No. 17, Vol. 32), JULY 26, 1817.

BANK CIRCULAR.

A MOST IMPORTANT SUBJECT!

Fleet Street, 12th June, 1837.

It was, as notified in my last Register, my intention to address this present Register to LORD WESTMORELAND, and therein to tell him how the Lords ought to go to work to shove out Canning and his Crib-man (Burdett), and all that most motley crew, and

how, also, to preserve their own estates. But, I must beg his Lordship to wait a bit; for, after the last Register went out of my hands, SIR JOHN WROTTESELEY, who is, observe, a country-banker, a dealer in that sort of manufacture, to which PROSPERITY ROBINSON gave so degrading a name; since the last Register went out of

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my hands, this WHOTTESLEY, this paper-money maker, has made a motion, in the House of Commons, relative to this BANK CIRCULAR, which, from the very first sight of it, I regarded, and pointed out, as a thing of great importance, it being manifestly a *feeler*, put forth by some person, or persons, with the approbation, if not at the suggestion, of more or less of the members both of the *Bank and the Government*. I called it a thing of "equivocal generation": one could not clearly trace it to any seed: but, I was satisfied, that it sprang from the above-mentioned ancient and most amiable partnership: so amiable and so full of affection, indeed, as to almost merit the epithet of *conjugal*; and, I am disposed to believe, that never were there man and wife more truly bone of bone and flesh of flesh, or, rather, so near to being these, as this most loving pair, *the Government and the Bank of England*.

I am, at the end of ten years from the time of writing and pub-

lishing it, more firmly than ever fixed in the opinion, expressed in my Motto, that the workings of the DEBT, and that those workings alone, will bring the people into the enjoyment of their rights, and will restore them to something like a sufficiency of food and raiment: and, as I deem no public matter of any importance at all, when compared to the means of accomplishing such restoration, I always make a point of calling upon my readers to bestow special attention on every thing connected with the "*march*" of the DEBT and the PAPER-MONEY, leaving the "*march of mind*" and the "*improvements of the age*," to sublime geniuses like Sir Glory and the son of the Spinning Jenny.

Amongst the things of the sort here alluded to; amongst the symptoms of the system's approach towards dissolution, and, of course, of our advance towards a restoration to full bellies and good clothes; amongst these things, I have seen few of a more

cheering aspect than this **BANK CIRCULAR**, of which I shall speak in detail by-and-by, when I have given an account of Wrottesley's *motion* as to this affair, and of the *confessions* and *opinions*, the promulgation of which it produced.

WROTTESELEY (who is a country-paper-money issuer, mind) was the man that first assailed Mr. JONES's gold-petition in July, 1825, and which petition most-assuredly *hastened late panic* by several months. "*Late panic*" would have *come* without that petition, as apples will, at last, fall from a tree; but, a *shake* will bring them down before their time; and thus it was that Mr. JONES of Bristol worked on the paper-tree. In a case like this, a great part of the import of the words uttered depends upon the person who utters them. This Wrottesley is deeply interested in the perpetuating of the circulation of country bank paper. I am going to notice several parts of his speech, and to offer remarks

on them as I proceed; but, throughout the whole, the reader will be so good as to bear in mind that the individual on the report of whose speech we are going to remark, is a paper-money man; a paper-money-monger, or dealer, the word *monger*, meaning *dealer*; a monger in currency; a rival in office with the King, who has a great many of these money-makers and mongers for his rivals; upon which circumstance, both Canning and Huskisson, in about six weeks after I had pointed it out to them in the Register, most ostentatiously remarked in the House of Commons! Upon the present occasion, this Wrottesley, who is a Member of Parliament for some place in the midland counties, this individual, who, in the debate upon Jones's petition, suggested to Mr. Hume that it might be the work of some "malignant individual," enemy of the prosperity of the country; this individual, Wrottesley, did, according to the report in the *Morning Chronicle*, con-

clude his speech upon this occasion, with a motion for "The appointment of a Select Committee to inquire whether the Governors and Directors of the Bank of England, or any of that Body, had circulated through the country a Letter tending to cast doubts on the solidity of *Private Bank Paper*, and thereby to injure the commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural interests of the country."

I shall have to remark, by-and-bye, upon the curious doctrine contained in this motion; I shall have to ask of this Wrottesley, how the devil it can be, that the manufacturing classes must of necessity "depend for their wages," upon a parcel of little bits of extremely thin and often not less dirty paper, which are, a whole cart-load of them, intrinsically worth not one single straw, except as manure; they being too flimsy, even to light a pipe with, and, in the capacity of manure, the cart-load would

certainly not be equal to one single shovelful of the meanest of horse-dung. The report informs us that this profound maker of paper-money began his speech in the following manner.

"Sir J. Wrottesley rose, in pursuance of the notice he had given, to move for the production of the Letter relative to advances from the Bank of England to country bankers. Perhaps the House would think he ought to be satisfied with the unequivocal denial of one of the Directors of the Bank, that the Letter in question had originated with their body. He (Sir J. Wrottesley) would have abandoned his motion, but it appeared to him that the Letter was intimately connected with many other circumstances, which induced him to believe, that, although it had appeared without the positive sanction of the Bank Directors, it had proceeded from, and was the result of, many consultations which those Directors had had upon the subject. He was inclined to believe that the Letter was written and circulated by the direction of the Bank. He was not prepared to state any positive facts conclusive of the point; but from many circumstances communicated to him from various parts of the country, he had every reason to suppose that some one gentleman who was a Director

“of the Bank, had shown the Letter
“to a variety of persons, asking their
“opinion; and it had thus gone fur-
“ther than it was intended, until it
“had at length been communicated
“to the public, through the medium
“of the newspapers. He trusted the
“House would be prevailed upon to
“look into the subject. At a mo-
“ment when it had been stated in
“that House that there was a gra-
“dual increase of employment of
“the capital and industry of all
“classes, he could not conceive a
“more mischievous contrivance than
“a Letter, which should be pub-
“lished with the effect of *bringing*
“*into discredit those establishments*
“*upon which the manufacturing classes*
“*must necessarily depend for wages,*
“and all their current advances.”

I shall notice, when I come
to the speech of the Director,
PEARSE, what is here said about
the authenticity of the document;
about the origin of it, and about
the manner in which it became
public. In this place, I wish to
direct the reader's attention to
what this paper-money man is
pleased to assert, respecting the
tendency of the Circular Letter in
question. He says, that its ef-
fect must be, “to bring into
“discredit those establishments,

“upon which the manufacturing
“classes *must necessarily depend*
“*for wages, and all their current*
“*advances.*” What a monstrous
idea is this! Or, what a monstrous
state of things is that in which we
are! Here are a parcel of people
at work, making goods for sale;
and is it absolutely necessary that
there should be somebody to make
paper-money for the purpose of
paying them wages for their work?
Surely, the cloth that is made by
the clothier; the goods that are
shipped by the merchant; surely
these will bring the parties some-
thing in return, without their go-
ing to a man that makes paper-
money! Neither does he except
the farmer, whom he includes
amongst those who are to be in-
jured by doubts being cast on the
solidity of private bank-paper!
What! is the bushel of wheat,
then, good for nothing; is the fat
hog, the milch-cow, the rich ox
and the team of horses; are the
quarters of wheat and of barley
possessed of no intrinsic value;
and, are they to fetch nothing to

the producer; is the worth of them by no means to be obtained by him, except with the assistance and through the instrumentality, solely, of bits of paper, a whole bushel of which is not equal in value to a single barley-corn? Really, these people seem to pore over columns of calculations and to read or listen to gibberish about what they call finance; they seem to get enveloped in fallacies and a sort of mystical political romancing, introduced and taught by the Scotch at the instigation of the devil; they seem to get enveloped and entangled in this sort of way, till they have completely lost sight of common sense, and have been divested of all the perceptions and faculties given by God for the guidance of man. As in the case of poor Job, the devil of "political economy," as the feelosophers call it, seems to have been let loose upon this race of paper-money men. How long he is to be allowed to torment them, and through them this afflicted country, it would be pre-

sumption to attempt even to guess; but every man of common sense will agree that some such tortuous devil as this must have been allowed to have his swing over a community, where it can be believed, where the idea can be maintained by overt speech, that little bits of paper intrinsically worthless, are indispensably necessary to procure due compensation for his labour to the maker of a coat or to the rearer of a pig. The truth is, that men who talk in this sort of way have been so long accustomed to this species of fiction, that their minds seem incapable of returning to those dictates of common sense, which, generally speaking, come naturally to all men. I should like to put it to this Wrottesley, whether he believe, whether he really and seriously believe that, if the whole of the paper-money were to be destroyed by fire to-night, and if there were never to be any more; whether, in this case, we should cease to wear coats and cease to eat? His statement would go

this length; for, if the manufacturing classes must necessarily depend upon the country bankers for food, in return for the goods that they make; if they must of necessity be in this state of dependence, a total destruction of the paper must be a total destruction of the people. Wrottesley will say, that he does not mean to go this length. Will he be so good, then, as to tell us where he means to stop? If he stop short of this, he must talk with us a little about the quantity of the paper; and then he must point out to us, if he can, what power there is, anywhere at present, to *regulate this quantity*, which, as things now stand, may be puffed up to the size of a mountain, or reduced to that of a mole-hill, at the sole will and pleasure of those whose profit or whose security, whose self-interest, at any rate, whose mere private interests, are to be consulted in a matter, which, according to his own showing, is of such immense importance to the people at large.

This paper-money maker did not, it appears, confine himself, upon this occasion, to the subject of the motion which he appears to have made. He took occasion, as the report tells us, to complain of the general desire of the Bank of England to profit by the ruin of the country-bankers; to complain of the Bill of last year, for putting an end to the issue of one-pound notes; and to give a sort of history of this one-pound note affair, going back so far as the period of the first Bank restriction. What he said upon these topics, which are all of importance, in themselves, is very well worthy of the attention of my readers; for, we may be perfectly assured, that he has here spoken the sentiments of the whole body of the paper-money makers, from one end of the kingdom to the other. Before I conclude this article, I shall have to introduce a famous recent Circular Letter of that indefatigable Privy Councillor and Scotch feelosofer, Sir JOHN SINCLAIR; but, at present, I will

confine myself to the speech of our worthy Warwickshire (I believe it is) maker of paper-money; and, again I request my readers to pay attention to the words; not for the sake of the man, but for the sake of the subject.

"He was induced, moreover, to bring forward this measure, because the objectionable conduct of the Bank of England was not confined to this one circumstance. There had been a rooted determination upon the part of that body to keep up their circulation to what it had been previously to the peace. They had found it difficult to accomplish that object. It was, in fact, impossible; and because they had not been able to keep up the same circulation, and could not realise the profits they had previously made, they endeavoured to bring the country banks into discredit, wishing to build their own profits upon the foundation of the ruin of others. This was a most material part of the transactions of the Bank of England. In the last Session of the recent Parliament, he had taken an opportunity of addressing the House upon this subject; but it was then considered that the country establishments were not to have the support that all other interests uniformly enjoyed. An attack was made upon them last year, the object of which was to withdraw from them the power of

issuing one-pound notes. As he alluded to this subject, it was only fair to state upon what grounds these notes had been first introduced. Originally, the Country Bankers had no right to expect that such an indulgence would be granted to them. Previously to 1797, they had issued nothing less than five pound notes, and they had not expected to be called upon to issue any of a smaller amount. They had made these issues by no solicitation of their own; they proceeded entirely from the misconduct of the Bank of England. That misconduct had brought upon the Bank the necessity of restraining their issues, and the Country Bankers had, therefore, been obliged to issue their small notes. At that period, they had not conceived that they had any claim or right to continue such issues; but the Act of Parliament was passed to allow them to proceed in issuing small notes, upon the ground that the Bank of England continued their restrictions. At the expiration of the war, the Country Bankers naturally expected to be called upon for payment of their one-pound notes in cash; but the restrictions still continued, and were not removed until after the peace. At the commencement of the Session of 1822, the late Lord Londonderry induced the House to agree to many very extraordinary changes. Agricultural distress then prevailed to

“a great extent, and in many countries the agriculturists met and represented their grievances to the House in Petitions. To so great an extent had that distress proceeded, that it was found necessary to lend to these Petitioners the redress they sought, and to extend to the agricultural interests every protection for which they asked. The issue of the one-pound notes by the Country Bankers did not originate from their own suggestions. Let the House look at the speech of Londonderry. They would find that amongst the different measures which he proposed for the relief of Agricultural distress, that on which he laid the greatest stress, was the Country Bankers continuing for ten years to issue one-pound notes. If the Country Bankers were prepared to give up these notes, and were called upon not to do so, in order to concur with the measures proposed by the Administration for the relief of agricultural distress, he would ask if it was fair or just to call upon them to withdraw their notes at a moment when there existed a hostile spirit against them, as well as a degree of doubt as to their solidity and credit, which had never existed at any former period?”

To that which our manufacturer of paper-money here says about the greediness of the Bank of England, I pay little attention.

That “two of a trade can never agree” is an old proverb; and, I have often compared the mother-bank and her litter to an old sow and her numerous farrow of pigs, and all agricultural people know very well how bitter the old devil is as soon as the young ones begin to lug her too hard: first she knocks them about with her snout, and, if they be not pretty soon taken away, she sticks her tusks into them with very little ceremony; if they do not know when to cease sucking, she knows when it is high time to cease letting down her milk; and, really, this does seem to be pretty much the state in which the mother-bank and her young ones are at this moment.

Sir John, our paper-money-making Baronet, appears to have sickening in his stomach, the Bill that was passed last year, which, if Mr. Canning, or his successor, should have the pluck to stick to it, will totally extinguish the one-pound notes on the fifth of April after the next. The paper-money-making Baronet here enters into the history of the one-pound country bank-notes, the origin of which he traces to the “misconduct of the Bank of England.” That is to say, he gives us to understand, that there never would have been

any country one-pound notes, if Pitt had not been pushed to sanction the making of one-pound Bank of England notes; therefore, says Sir John, we did not make country one-pound notes in consequence of any *solicitations* of our own. No, 'Squire, there were, certainly, no *solicitations* on the part of the country manufacturers of paper-money; but, at the same time, I beg you to remark, that the "misconduct," as you call it, of the Bank of England, arose, in great part, from the monstrous issues of the country-bankers, upon which she had no check; and, as to "*solicitations*" on your part, to be permitted to issue one-pound notes, there was no occasion for *solicitations*, any more than there is for a cow to solicit to go into a clover-field when she is loose in a barren lane and sees the gate of the clover-field open before her. The law, in consequence of which you began to make the one-pound notes, held out no *solicitation to you to do so*; it did not mention you at all; it made a gap in the hedge of the clover-field; it flung the gate open; but it neither drove you nor invited you to get over the one or to enter at the other. The making of the one-pound notes was your own act

and deed; it was your own choice; and now hear something which you appear to have forgotten, and that is this: that no country bank-note was protected by law, until, *at the solicitation of country bankers*, the country bank-notes became protected against demand of payment in gold; and, when you are reproaching the Bank of England; when you are talking thus slightly and haughtily of the Bank of England; when the ungrateful progeny thus turns round upon the poor old mother, let them recollect, and let them have the justice to acknowledge, that, in order to protect themselves against demands in the King's coin; in order to protect their own notes against such demands, they *obtained an Act of Parliament, to enable them to tender Bank of England notes in payment of their own notes*; thus, returning to the homestead and taking shelter under the old belly from which they had drawn their nourishment in their infant state. Nay, still more flagrant the ingratitude becomes, when we recollect that only just fifteen months have passed over our heads since these young ones made a whining and a squeaking enough to set the teeth of a ploughman on edge, in order to

obtain from the Parliament the power of paying, even at that time, their own notes in notes of the Bank of England! That virtuous and enlightened body, thanks to them from me from the bottom of my heart, rejected the application. But, after all this, the country bankers continued, in many instances, as petitions presented to the Parliament will show, to refuse to pay their own notes, *except in notes of the Bank of England.*

Pretty decent is it, then, in this paper-money-making 'Squire, to speak of the Bank of England as he is here reported to have spoken of her. She has a deal to answer for, to be sure, as towards the nation; but, as a mother, she has been a good one, and one does not like to see her treated in this sort of way: if we give to Satan his due, surely we may give her due to an old creature like this, who, whatever she may be, certainly is not quite so bad as Satan.

It is curious enough to observe the turn which our Warwickshire 'Squire gives to the affair of the Small-note Bill of 1822. He says, that the Small-note Bill was passed in order to relieve the agricultural distress of that day; that is to say, it was passed with a view of raising prices, putting

money into the pockets of the landlords, keeping it out of the pockets of the fund-lords and other tax-eaters, and these by the means of a vast increase of a quantity of paper-money. The country-bankers were, as the law then stood, to cease making one-pound notes on the first day of the next month of June; but, in order to prevent prices from falling down to the money mark, the Small-note Bill was passed in the month of July previous to that month of May. Sir John says, in alluding to this transaction: "If the country-bankers were prepared to give up these notes, and were CALLED UPON NOT TO DO SO, in order to concur with the measures proposed by the administration for the relief of the agricultural distress, he would ask if it was FAIR or JUST to call upon them to withdraw their notes, as by the Act of last year?" I should say, that taking the paper-'Squire at his word, it was *perfectly fair and just*; at a time when the breaking of the country-bankers had left so many thousands of families with, as the French call it, nothing but their eyes to cry with, unless, indeed, we count for something, the ample possession of what Prosperity Robinson justly denominated

"worthless rags." I should say, that, upon his own showing, this Act was perfectly fair and just; and, if the measure were not a measure of the Parliament, I should call it a measure criminally indulgent towards the country-bankers, whose good was by this Act made paramount to the good of the nation. But, if I should say this, *taking the paper-money man at his word*, what shall I say when I revert to the real facts of the case? These facts are, that, during the winter of 1802, there were repeated meetings, in London, of the country bankers coming from all parts of the kingdom, and, that the object of these meetings was to prevail upon the Ministers to give a great extension to the period for the issuing of one-pound notes by those bankers. This extension was at last agreed to at the time that we have just seen; and, to the shame of those country bankers, who reproached the Bank of England with greediness of gain, be it remembered that, by the same Act, she obtained a right to continue, for ten years, to issue one-pound notes; that she laudably abstained from resorting to this source of profit; that she never issued a single one-pound note, until, in January 1826, she

was absolutely compelled to do it, to put a stop to the devastation which had been set sweeping over the country by the one-pound notes of these very country bankers; that is to say, by their having eagerly taken advantage of a permission, of which she had never attempted to avail herself. She has now stopped her issues or reissues of one-pound notes again; and it does appear to be quite monstrous to abuse her on account of a project (visionary enough, I allow) but the object of which evidently is, to prevent a return of that sweeping devastation which she was called upon, only sixteen months ago, to prevent; aye, and that, too, pretty much at her own loss.

The remainder of the speech is of less importance; but there are some parts of it which will be worth remembering, and particularly the part with which the paragraph that I am about to quote concludes.

"If the object of the proposal were to regulate the Paper Currency, it must be considered as the transaction of the Bank itself. The mass of paper originated from the Bank itself. If the Circular related to any panic, the first intimation of such panic proceeded from the President of the Board of Trade.

"In 1821, the President of the
 "Board of Trade had given a caution
 "to the Bank as to the way in which
 "they were going on with respect
 "to their issues. The Bank were
 "obliged to bring their Exchequer
 "Bills into the market, and the con-
 "sequence was a general panic and
 "dismay in the public mind; every
 "person who held paper, of whatever
 "description, became anxious to
 "turn it into specie. The Bank
 "Directors now alluded to the de-
 "mands made upon them by the
 "Country Banks, at that period of
 "public alarm and distrust, as the
 "ground of their conduct. He (Sir
 "John Wrottesley) remembered tell-
 "ing the late Chancellor of the Ex-
 "chequer (now Lord Goderich) at
 "that period, to take care how he
 "issued Exchequer Bills, as in the
 "event of any panic which might be
 "caused by a variety of unforeseen
 "circumstances, the Unfunded Debt
 "would be materially affected, and
 "ought therefore to be kept down.
 "The Honourable Baronet here read
 "an extract from the Budget speech
 "made by the Chancellor of the Ex-
 "chequer last year, relative to the
 "prospective intention (as we under-
 "stood him) of applying the Sinking
 "Fund to the reduction of the Un-
 "funded as well as of the Funded
 "Debt. So long as the Bank con-
 "tinued to be the holder of Exche-
 "quer Bills—so long as it continued
 "to make advances to Government
 "upon such securities—so long

"would the Country Bankers and the
 "money market generally be subject
 "to panic and alarm. It was not
 "his intention to suggest any plan
 "in opposition to the temporary
 "measure about to be resorted to by
 "the present Chancellor of the Ex-
 "chequer in aid of the public reve-
 "nue. On the contrary, he thought
 "that the best mode of making up the
 "deficiency, under existing circum-
 "stances, was by an issue of Ex-
 "chequer Bills [hear, hear!]. But
 "he maintained, that the present
 "state of the Unfunded Debt was
 "one which ought not to continue
 "for any length of time. The Bank
 "of England ought to be in such a
 "situation as to be able at once to
 "meet all demands upon them. They
 "ought to be able to do that which
 "they were pledged to on the face
 "of an instrument which he hoped
 "every gentleman who heard him,
 "had in his pocket;—they ought
 "to be ready to fulfil the simple
 "promise on the face of their own
 "note, namely, "I promise to pay
 "on demand, so and so." If the
 "Bank adhered to a few practical
 "facts—if they took care to know
 "at all times the amount of their
 "notes in circulation, and also to
 "keep in their possession a suffi-
 "cient quantity of specie to meet
 "any sudden and extensive demand
 "upon them, he would venture to
 "say that that establishment would
 "stand upon a much more respect-
 "able footing than it did at present.

" But the fact was, that the Bank
 " was so extensively connected with
 " the Government, that it felt an
 " itching to have the management
 " of the affairs of every body else.
 " He admitted, that no men were
 " more fit than the Bank Directors
 " to conduct their own affairs; but
 " when they undertook to conduct
 " the business of the country in ge-
 " neral, he must take leave to ob-
 " serve, that they did not display
 " that general enlightenment which
 " would qualify them for such a task.
 " He was ready to admit that the
 " Bank of England was the most
 " respectable Corporation in the
 " world; but still he should object
 " to their possessing such extensive
 " powers as were contemplated by
 " that letter which had caused such
 " alarm in the minds of Country
 " Bankers, and of the country in
 " general. No other country in the
 " world had ever attempted to anti-
 " cipate its resources to the extent
 " that England had done; and
 " therefore sudden fluctuations, and
 " alarms caused by other circum-
 " stances, might, if proper care was
 " not taken, be productive of the
 " most disastrous and ruinous con-
 " sequences. The property of the
 " country consisting of land; manu-
 " factures, and commerce, would it
 " not be better that the paper-cur-
 " rency of the country should de-
 " pend upon many Corporations, ra-
 " ther than upon one? He should
 " like to hear the sentiments of the
 " Country Gentlemen upon this

" point, publicly declared. It was
 " generally known that the Bank, by
 " its power over the paper-currency
 " of the country, had the means of
 " increasing or decreasing property,
 " to the amount of from 25 to 30
 " per cent. There were many in-
 " stances of persons who had bought
 " estates, having been suddenly
 " ruined by such sudden fluctuations.
 " Looking to the serious events
 " which had recently taken place—
 " looking to the general panic which
 " pervaded the kingdom—he would
 " ask the House, whether they were
 " prepared to throw the whole cur-
 " rency into the hands of the Bank,
 " and thereby give a power of alter-
 " ing the value of property, and of
 " checking and impeding the pro-
 " gress of the commerce and manu-
 " factures of the country, to be ex-
 " ercised by these twenty-four Di-
 " rectors at their pleasure?"

These concluding words con-
 tain very good reasons for putting
 an end to the paper-money alto-
 gether. I defy this paper-money
 merchant to show that the Bank
 of England possesses any power
 over prices, which is not possessed
 in a more dangerous degree by
 the country banks. They can do
 just as much in this way as the
 Bank of England itself can; and,
 while, as to every evil effect, their
 paper is equal to hers, there is
 one good belonging to hers which
 theirs has not; namely, that it is

not, at any hour, liable to become worth not a straw. After this speech of Sir John Wrottesley, Mr. PEARSE, who is, I believe, the Deputy Governor of the Bank, is reported to have stated, but in so low a tone as to be hardly audible in the gallery, "that the Letter in question had been drawn up by a Bank Director, as a plan for regulating the paper circulation of the country; that it had been submitted by him to some friends whose opinions he was anxious to obtain; that the Director, not wishing to part with the original, had got about a dozen copies of it struck off at his own expense for the use of his friends; and that in this manner the letter found its way into the public newspapers; but that the letter had never been submitted to the Governor or Directors as a body, in any shape; and that they were in no way whatever privy or consenting to its being drawn up or put into circulation. The Hon. Member added, that no such plan had ever been discussed or contemplated by the Bank Directors [hear, hear!]."

—After this, the report says, that Mr. CANNING, in a low tone, observed, that, after the clear and satisfactory explanation gi-

ven by the Honourable Director, there only remained one observation for him to make—namely, that his Majesty's Ministers had never, in any manner, been consulted, or had in any way given advice, upon the letter in question."—After this, Mr. MABERLY complained of the Bank Directors for not having publicly disclaimed the letter in question, and said that the Director who had drawn up the letter had acted very ill. After this, the report of the debate proceeds as follows; and every word of it is worthy of the best attention of my readers. Mr. BARING, two Members whose names are not mentioned, Lord MILTON and Mr. HUME are the speakers; for Sir HENRY PARNELL is much too profound on these matters for a man like me ever to be able to make top or tail of what he says. What was said by the others is worthy of great attention; and, my readers may be well assured, that this is by no means the last that will be heard of this matter.

"Mr. Baring defended the gentleman who had written the Letter, and thought he had been hardly dealt with by his Honourable Friend near him. He (Mr. Baring) thought the Letter a most ingenious one, and well worthy the

"attention of every gentleman who
"thought proper to turn his mind
"to the subject.

"An Hon. Member, whose name
"we could not learn, said, that be-
"ing connected with a country bank,
"he was anxious that some such
"plan as that recommended in the
"Letter in question should be adopt-
"ed—namely, that Bank of Eng-
"land paper should be substituted
"throughout the country for local
"notes.

"Sir H. Parnell objected to the
"plan proposed in this Letter, as it
"would be the effect of giving the
"Bank of England the power of
"committing greater errors than it
"had already done, by giving it more
"extensive command over the cir-
"culation of the country. Means
"of a different description might be
"taken to get rid of private banks,
"or the greater number of them.
"For instance, the establishment of
"Joint Stock Companies (giving
"proper security) would have this
"effect, and would prevent fluctua-
"tions in the currency.

"Lord Milton observed, that the
"difficulties under which the coun-
"try laboured last year had not yet
"been got rid of, and he hoped that
"no more tampering with the cur-
"rency would take place until the
"affairs of the country were placed
"upon a more steady footing.

"A Member from under the Gal-
"lery, whose name we could not
"learn, said, that the monetary sys-

"tem of the country was full of
"danger and difficulty, and ought to
"occupy the prompt and serious
"attention of the Legislature.

"Mr. Hume said that the assertion
"of the Honourable Director (Mr.
"Pearse), that the Bank Directors
"always conducted their operations
"with a view to the public benefit,
"and not to their own interests,
"ought to be taken with some small
"share of allowance. For himself,
"he thought that they attended
"pretty well to their own interests.
"He protested against giving to the
"Bank of England any further con-
"trol over the interests of the
"country. If benefit was to be
"derived by the currency, let it
"be derived by a National Bank, in
"the establishment of which, the
"Chancellor of the Exchequer could
"find no difficulty. What confidence
"could be placed in the management
"or resources of the Bank of Eng-
"land? They were pledged to pro-
"vide specie for their paper issues;
"yet, what was the fact? *They lent*
"*the whole of their capital to Govern-*
"*ment, and raised money,—how? By*
"*the issue of from 19,000,000*l.* to*
"*23,000,000*l.* of paper, of which*
"*sum, no less than 13,000,000*l.* in*
"*addition to the whole of their capital,*
"*was also lent to Government.* [Hear,
"hear, hear!] What confidence, he
"asked, could be placed in an esta-
"blishment which acted in this
"manner? By a National Bank,
"established upon sound principles,

"the country would be benefited in the instance of Exchequer Bills to the amount of many millions a year, while, from the taxes being regularly paid in, the extent of any over-issue could be always ascertained with the greatest certainty. Whenever Exchequer Bills at the present moment came to a discount, they were always paid in instantly to the Exchequer on account of taxes. This was a method by which the over-issues could be ascertained, and in the same manner the payment of the taxes in the issues of a National Bank, would regulate the amount of paper which ought to be afloat in the country. Government would, at the same time, by a Bank under its own management, save all the profits which now went to fill the coffers of the Bank of England. The Honourable Member, after some other observations to the same effect, concluded by recommending the Right Hon. Gentleman (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) to get rid of the Bank and its Directors altogether, and save the Government from the expense of enormous sums paid for managing its affairs, as well as the country from all the ruinous fluctuations in the value of property, produced by over-issues of paper."

If I had been proprietor of this newspaper, the reporter of this debate never should have reported another for me. Here is "a Mem-

ber from under the gallery" stating that *the money system of the country is full of danger and difficulty*. Here is another Member who is connected with a country bank, who is anxious that *some such plan as that recommended in the letter in question, should be adopted!* It would have been of the greatest importance to ascertain the names of those Members; but, alas! the reporter *could not learn their names*. If, for instance, one of them had been Mr. Hudson Gurney, as it very likely was, how different would have been the effect upon the minds of readers in general, from the effect which is now produced on their minds! These are words of infinite importance; and they appear to be thought nothing of by these reporters, who are generally so careful to note down with correctness every effusion of folly and of emptiness which comes forth in the shape of a joke or a sarcasm. However, the reporter has given us the name of Mr. Baring, and has told us that Mr. Baring said that the gentleman who had written this famous letter had been hardly dealt with by his Honourable Friend (Mr. Maberly); that he, Mr. Baring, thought the letter *a most ingenious one, and well worthy the attention of every gen-*

gentleman who turned his mind to the subject. This is quite enough to convince every intelligent reader, or, at least, quite enough to induce him to believe, pretty confidently, that Mr. Baring not only knew the author of the letter; but, had seen the letter before it was published; had approved of its contents, and also approved of its being promulgated. This, I think, is not at all a straining of suspicion. In short, every one must be convinced of the facts. Let us, then, see a little, what are the contents of this letter. The letter contains a project for the putting an end to the making of paper-money (in England and Wales); to the putting an end to the making of any paper-money whatever, *except by the Bank of England herself.* The letter has been inserted in the Register of the second day of this present month of June. It will be useful for the reader to refer to the whole of it; but, it may be sufficient here just to state its substance. It proposes, then, that no body, no person or body of persons, shall issue paper-money except the Bank of England; it proposes to make the present country bankers a sort of agents for circulating the Bank paper-money. It proposes to give them a certain per centage

upon the paper-money issued by them, they giving security to the mother-bank for responsibility; or, to use another word, for repayment to her, and for due payment in gold, if called upon, to the holders of the notes which they circulate. This is the substance of the project; and the Circular Letter represents such project as absolutely necessary to prevent the recurrence of panics; that is to say, to prevent a blowing-up of the paper-money and of the whole system.

I have now to notice the very remarkable counter-project of Mr. HUME. This gentleman, when once he gets on the scent of profits, pushes right on through bush and through briars, without being diverted by collateral events or sounds. The Bank, or at least, the Director who wrote this letter, had spoken to the country bankers of profits, of sharing in profits. "Ah ha!" says Mr. Hume; "gad! I'll get these profits for the nation!" And, to work he sets, recommending to our new and most profound Minister, to set up a national bank; to get rid of the Bank and its Directors; to save the Government the expense of the enormous sum paid for managing its affairs; and to make the currency of the country permanent

and of solid value; to free it from all liability to fluctuations; and to make property once more fixed and for ever secure!

How various, oh, Folly! is the taste of thy votaries! Yet, among all this variety, strange to relate, no one ever seems to approach towards an idea of the solidity of coin. Gold, which, in every language in the world, is a word illustrative of weight, security, value, solidity, and of every thing else that has permanency and safety in view; this word gold seems to be shunned by thy votaries, as the light of the sun is shunned by the toad and the slug. When Mr. Hume had got back so far as the nation's issuing its own money; when he had got so far as to want Mr. Canning to have a national press to make the nation's money at, was not it strange that he could not lift up his eyes only about eighteen inches, and see the venerable TIZNEY, that veteran politician, that new man of the Mint, sitting cheek by jowl with the reformer, Burdett, filling an office, the object of which is, to supply the nation with the King's golden coin? And was it not strange that this venerable veteran, did not call out across the House, to the place where he so lately sat himself, and remind

his late honourable friend, that it was at his shop that the true money was to be had! However, this project of Mr. Hume is only one more proof, that nothing is so hideous to the sight of all men of all parties in that place; nothing so hideous as the thought of *turning to gold*. Gold is the touch-stone of the system. Without gold there is not a moment of safety; and, the presence of gold drives the system into everlasting oblivion. None of them dare face the gold. You always hear them talking about different sorts of paper-money; how to manage the paper-money; how to make our situation safe with paper-money; how to have nothing but paper-money; and, yet, to have no panics, late or present. The devil of all the rest of the world is black: yellow is the colour of the devil of these politicians.

It is impossible not to perceive that the Bank of England paper is, in fact, the paper of the Government, though it is not so in mere appearance. Mr. Hume himself says, that the Bank has *lent the whole of its capital to the Government, and that it has issued thirteen millions of paper in addition to that whole!* Let me now, before I conclude, go to the debate of Friday last, the 8th

June, and take from that debate the reported speech of Mr. MABERLY. These are words deeply interesting to us. We never can have reform, Englishmen never can be well off; they always must be miserable, as long as this system of funding and paper-money shall continue. Our two descriptions of enemies must come to an open contest before either will listen to our propositions for a just and constitutional reform. This Mr. Mabery is a great "*financier*." Be he what he may, however, in reality, he is **THERE**, and, in all human probability, he will have a great hand in the famous "*Finance Committee*," which all accounts tell us is to sit next year. Let us, therefore, hear what Mr. Mabery said in this last-mentioned debate, and, particularly, what he said on the subject of a *national bank*, or some such establishment as that pointed out by Mr. Hume. We shall find, that he spoke twice upon this occasion, and that Mr. Hume also spoke. The whole is short and pithy, and I shall insert it as it stands in the report, begging my readers to pay great attention to the words which I have put in *italic characters*.

"Mr. Mabery wished to take this opportunity of making a few re-

marks on the subject of Finance, and commenced by referring to the promised appointment of a Committee early in the next Session. On this account he had abandoned various motions of which he had given notice, and he thought that he could not have shown greater courtesy to the Right Hon. Gentleman at the head of his Majesty's councils. To the Sinking Fund he was desirous of calling the attention of the Right Hon. Gentleman, because he had himself recently referred to it in his annual statement, which was distinguished by its fairness, and which rather afforded an unfavourable than a too favourable view of the finances of the kingdom. The Right Hon. Gentleman had not, indeed, distinctly pledged himself to any given amount for a Sinking Fund, but he had thrown out a suggestion, that with an expenditure of fifty millions, a Sinking Fund of five millions did not seem too much. He (Mr. Mabery) contended, from the practice of late years, when there had, in fact, been little or no Sinking Fund, that it was not necessary in order to maintain public credit. At all events, it ought not to require taxation to support it; and, as a general argument, it seemed to him much more expedient to have a moderate balance of the public revenue—say two millions—in hand, and if it appeared likely to be permanent, to reduce

"taxation to that amount. If, on
 "the other hand, a Minister pledged
 "himself to any given sum for a
 "Sinking Fund, it might be very in-
 "convenient to produce it at one
 "period, although there might be no
 "difficulty in doing so at another.
 "He objected to the manner in
 "which the vote of credit was to be
 "raised, as it was highly desirable,
 "under existing circumstances, that
 "Government should keep as clear
 "as possible of the Bank of Eng-
 "land. *The state of the Bank was*
 "*this: it had advanced nearly all its*
 "*available capital to Government*
 "*upon an annuity, and it had in con-*
 "*sequence obtained a valuable mono-*
 "*poly, which he hoped never would be*
 "*renewed, and from which a con-*
 "*siderable revenue might be derived*
 "*by proper arrangements.* He ad-
 "mitted, that by means of Exche-
 "quer Bills, the Right Hon. Gen-
 "tleman obtained a loan at a cheaper
 "rate than he could otherwise raise
 "it, but he could find no remedy for
 "the calamity that would arise if
 "the Foreign Exchanges should be
 "against the country, and the Bank
 "of England, for its own security,
 "contract its issues by the sale of
 "Exchequer Bills. He did not look
 "for any reply, but he felt assured,
 "that what he had offered would
 "receive due consideration from the
 "Right Hon. Gentleman.

"Mr. Herries, in pursuance of the
 "Resolution of the Committee of
 "Supply, moved a vote for raising

"the sum of 500,000*l.* by Exchequer
 "Bills.

"Mr. Hume objected to this mode
 "of going on adding to the Unfunded
 "Debt of the country. He hoped
 "that the Right Honourable Gen-
 "tleman would be able to assign
 "some reasons for pursuing such a
 "course,

"Mr. Herries observed, that on
 "the night when the Budget was
 "brought forward, the House had
 "universally concurred in the sug-
 "gestion that the constitution of the
 "Sinking Fund should not be altered.
 "If new Exchequer Bills were re-
 "quired, the mode of issuing them
 "must depend upon the circum-
 "stances of the time.

"Mr. Hume added, that this was
 "the first occasion on which a Chan-
 "cellor of the Exchequer *had avowed*
 "*that he had not money for the Sink-*
 "*ing Fund,* and that he must bor-
 "row, in order to obtain it for that
 "purpose. At all events, it seemed
 "fit only to apply to the Sinking
 "Fund the money which the Trea-
 "sury actually possessed. The plan
 "now persevered in complicated and
 "stultified the whole of the accounts.
 "He called upon the Right Honour-
 "able Gentleman (Mr. Canning) to
 "state why he reverted to the absurd
 "doctrines of 1822; it was keeping
 "up a *humbug*, inconsistent with the
 "acknowledged fairness and candour
 "of the Right Honourable Gentle-
 "man.

"The Chancellor of the Exchequer;

"The Hon. Member asks me why I do not make a new arrangement of finance upon his sole recommendation, and in opposition to the expressed opinion of all the rest of the House [cheers]."

"Mr. Maberly said, that as the whole subject would be reviewed by a Finance Committee early next Session, it was hardly worth while to persevere in recommending a change of system which would probably only continue for a few months longer."

Well, then, first we see that Mr. Maberly (who is a great financier, as I said before) appears to have entire confidence in the works of this expected Finance Committee. Mr. Hume calls the sinking-fund a shocking humbug. He calls upon Mr. Canning to state "why he keeps up this humbug." Mr. Canning answers, that the "honourable gentleman asks him why he does not make a new arrangement of finance upon his sole recommendation, and in opposition to the expressed opinion of all the rest of the House. (Cheers)." Aye, aye, "cheer" away; but this is a very poor answer, Mr. Canning; and you will find that you will have all the House against you upon this very point, if you continue in

your place but another six months. There is no joking with an empty purse, or a purse that is growing empty; and, on this subject Mr. Hume will beat you, with your learned friend Mackintosh pinned on to your back. But, it is Mr. Maberly that I wish the reader to look at; he wishes Mr. Hume to let the "humbug" alone for the present; because it, as well as all the other things, "will be reviewed by the Finance Committee early next session"! Gad, there will be a pretty review! Never was there such an one upon Hounslow-heath nor Wormwood-scrubs. But (and here is the great point of all) **WILL THE BANK PROJECT COME BEFORE THAT FINANCE COMMITTEE?** Will the question of reduction of the interest of the Debt come before that Committee? Will the question whether the last year's law about one-pound notes be to be enforced or not, come before that Committee? Leaving these questions for Mr. Canning to consider in his closet, I give it to my readers as my opinion, that the present project of the Bank, of which we have seen so much, would, if put in execution, directly lead to the issuing of a **GOVERNMENT PAPER-**

MONEY; and, thus, we should, at last, come to the situation of the National Convention of France, and the old Congress of America. This is my decided opinion. I do not say that I believe that the Bank project will be attempted to be enforced; because I can form no opinion as to what is likely to be done by men who manifestly have no settled opinions of their own; but, I know that, before twelve months are over our heads, or thereabouts, there must take place a change which will produce a sensation seldom experienced in any country in the world. The system now exhibits all the symptoms of approaching agony and dissolution. God send it a happy turn; and we have this consolation, at any rate, that no turn that it can take can possibly make the situation of the people of this kingdom much worse than it now is: while it is not only possible, but in the highest degree probable, that the change that will take place, will directly tend to the happiness of the people and the safety, power and honour of the country.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. I have not room for the Circular of Sir JOHN SINCLAIR, and shall content myself with observing, that he, also, has his project for making a "permanent" and "safe" paper-money!

POSTSCRIPT.—Since writing the above (it is now Wednesday noon) I perceive that the Corn Bill appears to have become an abortion. The poor thing appears to have been choked by some queer sort of proceeding of the midwives; and, really, its friends seem not to have been a great deal fonder of it, at last, than its foes! I suspect that it was seen, that at a moment when gold and silver are rising in price, it would not have been very convenient, either to Whigs or Tories, or by whatever other ridiculous devil's name they are called, to suffer the very moderate quantity of gold which is now in the Bank to be sent out of the country to pay for corn! Which must have been the case, observe, if the more than a million sterling's worth of wheat, now in bond, had been, by passing the Corn Bill as it stood, suffered to be sold in this country. This I suspect to be the true cause of what has the outward appearance of having been the effect of party contest; and, I cannot give much credit to the report that Mr. Canning, irritable as the shallow man is, has so very grossly characterized the Lords of the Household who voted in favour of the Duke of Wellington's amendment.

Another thing which has taken place, since my writing of the

above article, and which is also most closely connected with this great subject of the paper-money, is a renewal of the notice of a Mr. E. DAVENPORT to make a motion for a Select Committee to inquire into the causes of the distresses of the country. He gave this notice last night (Tuesday); and, it appears, that the motion is to come on to-morrow. He had given notice of the motion once before, but, when the time for discussing it came, behold there was NO HOUSE! I shall be mistaken if he gets A HOUSE next time. Mr. Davenport tells the House beforehand, that "HE MEANS TO SHOW" that the one-pound note Act will throw every thing into confusion if it be persevered in! "A potatoe in your news-box, Mr. Davenport!" will say all the Paddies; a potatoe in your news-box! and, JOHN BULL will exclaim, "*Queen Anne is dead*, Mr. Davenport!" Just as if the House would not think, that this Mr. E. Davenport, who talks about the writings and principles of *Locke*, and who seems as if he had never heard of the POLITICAL REGISTER, were like a country girl who has just been to the fair and has got a new red petticoat; just as if the House would not guess, that he

had been reading the Political Register; that he had got his head full of its matter, that his tongue was running upon it, as the tongue of a country fellow runs upon a new song; that he meant to come forth with that matter as a discovery of his own; just as if the House would not, at least, imagine all this; just as if they could fail to perceive that the author, the real father of these doctrines, would claim them as his own; and that, thereby, the House, by suffering Mr. Davenport to put forth these notions, would only be adding to the fame of that man whom they hate infinitely more than they hate the real eternal Devil himself. Oh, no: they know too well, what would be the effect of Mr. Davenport's motion, to permit it to produce any thing like a debate; to permit it to stand before the public as a matter worthy of a great degree of public attention. I suppose, therefore, that, either there will be NO HOUSE, or that, by some curious means or other, poor Mr. Davenport will find his motion end in nothing, and that it will hardly be noticed by those profound and faithful gentlemen, the reporters to the newspapers: who, observe, are all sent to sweeping the streets, to dung-cart, or to mending the

highways, the moment the paper-money shall receive its final blow. These are amongst the filthy vermin engendered by the paper-money system: they are like the nasty poisonous flies that are engendered under the lights of the pits, where my exotic seedlings are now coming up, and which filthy reptiles I destroy by scalding water, by hot lime, but, above all, by lifting up the lights, and letting in the sweet air upon them. Thus will it be when the covering of corruption shall be drawn away, and when the sweet air of justice and liberty shall be let in upon the accursed vermin that are now nipping in the bud every thing tending to the real peace and happiness of the nation. I conclude by inserting the reported speech of this Mr. E. Davenport, this scholar, as he would have us believe, of "*the great Locke*," as he calls him, who was, indeed, great, as a swallower of the public money; but, who was not more worthy of being quoted upon this subject than HUDIBRAS would have been. I cannot help observing, that PEELE talked about nothing but *Locke* and *Queen Elizabeth*, when he introduced that Bill, which has already brought the country three times to the verge of actual convulsion; that

Bill which the profound Canning said "*had set the question at rest for ever*"; and, which Mr. E. Davenport, after having seen it altered three times, backward and forward and backward again, now declares to be calculated to produce inevitable ruin to the country, unless it undergo another alteration; unless (to use his own words) it be *neutralized* by some measure of a counteracting tendency.

"Mr. E. Davenport presented a Petition from a class of poor, but industrious inhabitants of the Metropolis, the operative Silk-weavers of Spitalfields, praying for relief from the greatest grievance under which any portion of the community could labour; namely, inadequate remuneration for their labour. They prayed that an inquiry might be instituted into the cause of their distress. It might be that it was not in the power of that House to relieve them; but as persons who were drowning, caught at the slightest things to save themselves, so the Petitioners were anxious to seize every possible means of remedying the evils under which they laboured. They admitted that there was an improvement in the trade generally; but expressed their doubts of its continuance, and their conviction of the little benefit which that improvement would occasion to the working

"classes, while the masters, by combination, had the power of diminishing the rate of wages. They solicited Parliament to enact a law, making agreements with respect to wages between the masters and the journeymen duly convened, imperative on both parties. For his own part, he thought that any measure of that kind would be merely a palliative and not a corrective of the evil, which, in his opinion (as we understood the Hon. Gent.), principally resided in the state of the currency. He could never understand how it was possible to withdraw a considerable portion of the currency in the manner in which it had been withdrawn, without paralysing all the industry of the country. The Act providing for the abolition of one-pound notes had already produced the greatest distress, and eighteen months were still to elapse, before the whole of the evil which it was calculated to create would be rendered manifest. If that evil were not neutralized by some measure of a counteracting tendency, he was persuaded that it would arrive at a most alarming height. It was extraordinary to hear the contradictory opinions on this important subject. While in the memorable debate which three years ago took place respecting it, one of the Ministers of the Crown asserted, that the question of the currency was settled, a Bank Director, a man of great ability and experience, declared, that so far was the question from being settled, that

the manner in which it was left was fraught with the utmost danger, and would speedily require some alteration in the law. Was it not incumbent on the House to sift to the bottom such opposite opinions on a subject of such vital importance? By what strange fatality was it that so few persons were disposed to listen to the discussion of a topic so generally interesting? It appeared as if some apprehension existed lest the real facts of the case should be made manifest. Various reasons had been pressed upon him, but in vain, to induce him to withdraw his notice of a motion on Thursday next, for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the causes of the severe distress which had afflicted the commercial and industrious classes of the community, during the last and present years. However unwillingly in some respects, he was determined to do his duty by persevering in that motion; leaving, to Parliament, all the honour or all the shame that would result from adopting it on the one hand, or letting it lie on the other."

TULIP-TREE WOOD.

I HAVE for sale fifty-four planks of this wood, averaging about thirty feet in each plank. They are two and a half inches thick. Some are about fourteen feet long; others not, probably, more than ten feet. Some are between three and four feet wide; others not, perhaps, more than two feet. The planks are just as wide at one end

as at the other; and there is not a *single knot*, or *curl*, in the whole parcel of *one thousand, five hundred and eighty-one feet*.

MICHAUX, in his *North American Sylva*, says of the *tree*, that he saw *one twenty-two feet six inches* in circumference, at five feet from the ground; and that he judged the tree to be a *hundred and forty feet high*. Of the **WOOD** Michaux says what every body in America knows; namely, that it is in colour of a pale yellow; that its grain is very *fine*; that the wood is both *light and strong*; that it is used in rafters, shingles, door-panels, bedsteads, wainscoting, chair-bottoms, large bowls, and particularly, in all parts of America, in making the *panels of coaches* and other pleasure carriages; and, so much is this the case, that it is carried hundreds of miles to be used in those places, near to which it does not grow.

The wood admits of a *beautiful polish*, and is used for various purposes by cabinet-makers. Of these planks that I have, a single plank would make a kitchen-dresser, or table; a servants'-hall table; a slab for a dairy or a larder; fine things, I should think, for cutting-boards, shop-boards, counters, show-boards, or almost any thing, which requires a very large breadth of wood in one single, smooth piece. Being $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, these planks are strong enough for any thing.

The price for the whole parcel, **ONE SHILLING and THREE-PENCE A FOOT**; for any quantity less than the whole, and

exceeding a hundred feet, **ONE SHILLING AND SIXPENCE A FOOT**; and for a *single plank*, **ONE SHILLING AND NINE-PENCE A FOOT**. So that a plank, 14 feet long, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, which, with a couple of trestles, would make a table to dine *twenty people*, would cost only *four pounds five shillings*; it might be kept as clean as a marble slab, and with nearly as little trouble, and would last for many a life-time.

The planks are at *my house at Kensington*, where they may be seen, by application to the gardener, at any hour between four in the morning and five in the afternoon. There is the *mark* on each plank, expressing the *number of feet* which it contains. The marks were put on in America, and, therefore, are according to our old-fashioned English *kingly measure*, and not according to the grand and sublime "**IMPERIAL MEASURE**," which, being an "*improvement of the age*," produced by "*liberal principles*," the offspring of the "*march of mind*," gauges (in defiance of Bedlam) ale, metes oysters, and ascertains the length and width of shirting, by the "*beat of a pendulum* in a "*heat of sixty-two degrees of Fahrenheit's Thermometer*"!

N.B. I have now but little more than half the above quantity left; Gentlemen, who may wish either to see it or purchase it, must therefore be speedy in their applications.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending June 1.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat ..	58	4	Rye	42	2
Barley ..	40	3	Beans ...	51	4
Oats	28	8	Pease ...	47	11

Total Quantity of Corn returned as Sold in the Maritime Districts, for the week ended June 1.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	35,856	Rye	139
Barley ..	1,878	Beans . . .	956
Oats ...	7,196	Pease	452

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, June 2.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat..	4,064	for 12,147	15	6	Average,	59	11
Barley..	1,571	.. 3,164	7	9	.....	40	3
Oats..	2,302	.. 3,391	19	0	.....	29	5
Rye....	8	.. 13	19	4	.....	34	1
Beans..	385	.. 950	10	3	.....	49	4
Pease ..	54	.. 134	8	0	.....	49	9

Friday, June 8.—The supplies of Grain this week are moderate, but of Flour the quantity is good. Wheat has received a check to-day, and the trade has become so heavy that Monday's prices cannot be obtained. Barley continues very scarce. Beans and Pease are unaltered. The trade for Oats remains unvaried from the report of Monday. The Flour trade is very dull at the advance.

Monday, June 11.—There was

last week a small supply of most kinds of English Grain, with a large arrival of Flour, and a good quantity of foreign Oats. The fresh supplies to this morning's market are inconsiderable. The anticipation that the Duke of Wellington's clause will be expunged from the Corn Bill, has caused great dullness to be experienced in the Wheat trade to-day: there is scarcely any superfine Wheat at market, and the general quality may be reported 2s. per quarter lower than this day sen'night, with the chief part of the supply left unsold.

Barley continues so very scarce that the prices may yet be reported as nominal. Beans come also very scantily to market, and the rates are unaltered. Pease have no variation. There have been fewer country buyers of Oats here to-day than for some weeks past, and the trade for this article being slack, the prices are reported 1s. per quarter lower for thin feed samples, and even other kinds can hardly obtain the terms of this day sen'night. The Flour trade is so extremely heavy, that most of the Factors consider the top price as having fallen to 50s. per sack.

Price on board Ship as under.

Flour, per sack	46s. — 50s.
— Seconds	0s. — 0s.
— North Country ..	40s. — 44s.

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. Loaf is stated at 9d. by the full-priced Bakers.

Accounts of Wheat, &c. arrived in the Port of London, from June 9 to June 9, both inclusive.

Wheat	Qrs.	Tares	Qrs.
Wheat	5,026	Barley	1,443
Barley	1,443	Linseed	1,163
Malt	8,913	Rapeseed	—
Oats	2,310	Brank	60
Beans	520	Mustard	—
Flour	10,363	Flax	—
Rye	—	Hemp	—
Pease	546	Seeds	9

Foreign.—Wheat, 3,840; Barley, 4,291; Oats, 18,890; Beans, 753 quarters.

Price of Hops, per Cwt. in the Borough.

Monday, June 11.—The general reports, this day, from the plantations about Maidstone are, that there is rather less fly, and the bines are growing fast; while from other quarters, they state an increase of fly. The market is very dull, and last week's prices can scarcely be realized for either new or old.

Another Account.

June 11.—Our market remains dull, and where sales have been forced, lower prices have been submitted to; but such is the confidence generally felt by the trade, that when Hops have been offered at less than the market price of the day, they have readily found purchasers. The accounts from the plantations continue very favourable, and districts where the attack had not been so general, have now been visited by the fly in great numbers. Duty called 55,000*l*.

Maidstone, June 7.—The accounts from the Weald of Kent, say that there is a very great increase of fly, and that the plantations are getting in the same bad state as in the year 1825, but here and round this neighbourhood they are more favourable, as it is considered the fly has generally decreased, and the bines are growing and look much better. The trade seems quite at a stand—nothing doing whatever.

SMITHFIELD.

Monday, June 11.—On Friday there was but little variation from the preceding market; if any difference, it was that Mutton and Lamb sold on rather better terms. The supply to-day may be considered large, and the weather being extremely warm, there is a great heaviness in the trade. Choice Beasts, not exceeding 100 stones, nearly maintain the terms of last Monday; but large and coarse things are 1*l*. to 2*l*. a head lower; and it is very doubtful whether all will be sold. A few prime pens of Sheep, from 7 to 8 stone, have exceeded our top currency; but the general trade is no higher than this day sen't night; and Lamb also remains the same.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	4	4	to 5	4
Mutton	4	0	—	5 0
Veal	5	0	—	5 8
Pork	5	0	—	5 8
Lamb	5	0	—	6 0
Beasts . . . 1,970			Sheep . . .	20,550
Calves . . . 232			Pigs . . .	140

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	4	0	to 5	0
Mutton	3	8	—	4 8
Veal	4	0	—	6 0
Pork	4	0	—	6 0
Lamb	4	8	—	6 8

LEADENHALL, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.	
Beef	3	6	to 5	4	
Mutton . . .	3	4	—	4	8
Veal	3	8	—	5	8
Pork	4	4	—	5	8
Lamb	3	8	—	6	8

Monday, June 11.—The arrivals from Ireland last week were, 1,708 firkins of Butter, and 2,466 bales of Bacon; and from Foreign Ports, 7,388 casks of Butter.

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS, per Ton.

	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Ox-Nobles.....	3	10	0	0	0	0
Middlings.....	0	0	—	0	0	0
Chats.....	0	0	—	0	0	0
Common Red..	0	0	—	0	0	0
Onions, 6s. 6d.—0s. 6d. per bush.						

BONMARK, per Ton.

	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Ox-Nobles.....	3	0	10	3	10	
Middlings.....	2	0	—	0	0	0
Chats.....	0	0	—	0	0	0
Common Red..	3	0	—	3	10	

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay.....	90s.	to	120s.
Straw.....	36s.	to	42s.
Clover.....	100s.	to	147s.
St. James's.—Hay.....	84s.	to	120s.
Straw ..	36s.	to	42s.
Clover.....	105s.	to	135s.
Whitechapel.—Hay.....	84s.	to	120s.
Straw.....	36s.	to	42s.
Clover 100s.	to	140s.	

AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN, sold in the Maritime Counties of
England and Wales, for the Week ended June 1, 1877.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
London*.....	61	4	41	2	32	3
Essex.....	60	5	40	3	30	4
Kent.....	57	8	41	7	32	11
Sussex.....	56	11	41	4	28	0
Suffolk.....	57	4	37	11	31	8
Cambridgeshire.....	54	6	34	1	26	2
Norfolk.....	57	0	37	3	28	8
Lincolnshire.....	56	7	39	8	23	0
Yorkshire.....	56	3	40	6	26	1
Durham.....	59	1	42	8	36	1
Northumberland.....	57	6	40	0	33	7
Cumberland.....	64	6	42	10	37	0
Westmoreland.....	63	11	47	0	40	10
Lancashire.....	63	4	0	0	31	10
Cheshire.....	63	4	0	0	30	8
Gloucestershire.....	57	1	42	7	42	0
Somersetshire.....	56	6	36	5	29	7
Monmouthshire.....	59	7	44	4	0	0
Devonshire.....	58	8	40	8	31	2
Cornwall.....	64	6	42	1	36	7
Dorsetshire.....	56	9	38	10	34	7
Hampshire.....	56	5	42	0	28	0
North Wales.....	70	8	50	2	29	8
South Wales.....	63	6	42	0	28	7

* The London Average is always that of the Week preceding.

Liverpool, June 5.—At this day's market higher prices were demanded for Wheat, say from 4*d.* to 5*d.* per 70lbs., and in some few instances obtained. Sales of all sorts of Grain, in bond, at a complete stand. Of Oats, sales to a moderate extent were made at the prices of this day week. In other Grain no alteration.

Imported into Liverpool, from May 29 to June 5, 1827, inclusive:—Wheat, 10,418; Barley, 1,593; Oats, 5,112; Beans, 345; Pease, 81 quarters. Flour, 140 sacks, per 200 lbs.; Oatmeal, 242 packs, per 240 lbs.; American Flour, 2,621 barrels.

Derby, June 9.—On account of this day being our Whitsun Fair, our Market was rather neglected. Prices for fine Wheat were rather higher, and with very little demand; all sorts of Grain nearly nominal.—Wheat, 60*s.* to 65*s.*; Barley, 38*s.* to 46*s.*; Oats, 30*s.* to 36*s.*; and Beans, 54*s.* to 62*s.* per eight bushels Imperial measure.

Horncastle, June 9.—We had a very short supply of all kinds of Grain. Wheat something higher; Barley the same as our last; Oats dull, and little business doing.—Wheat, from 55*s.* to 60*s.*; Barley, 40*s.* to 44*s.*; Oats, 25*s.* to 30*s.*; Beans, 60*s.* to 64*s.*; and Rye from 38*s.* to 40*s.* per qr.

Ipswich, June 9.—We had a fair supply of Wheat at market to-day, but a very short one of other Grain, and prices remain nearly as last week, viz.—Wheat, 54*s.* to 63*s.*; Barley, 36*s.* to 42*s.*; and Beans, 48*s.* to 52*s.* per quarter.

Manchester, June 9.—This being almost a holiday week here, very little business has been transacted in the Corn trade. The advance in London, on Monday last, has not had a corresponding effect here to-day, although the holders of fine Wheat were demanding an advance of 2*d.* to 4*d.* per bushel of 70 lbs.; the Millers were not disposed to comply, and what few sales were made were only at an advance of 2*d.* per bushel; nor do we expect much life in the trade until the Corn Bill is finally settled. Flour has advanced full 1*s.* per sack. In Barley, Oats, Beans, Pease, and Malt, no alteration.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, June 9.—We had a short supply of Wheat from the farmers, and very little coastwise at this day's market, and the obstruction the Corn Bill has met with in the House of Lords having caused some alarm amongst the millers who are out of stock, they gave readily an advance of 2*s.* per quarter upon the prices of last week; but the feeling amongst the principal buyers was in favour of the Bill passing, and they bought very sparingly at the advance. Rye rather more in demand. The farmers' supply of Oats was very small this morning, and we have had few foreign arrivals during the week, but the buyers did very little business to-day, and prices remain nominally the same as last week.

Norwich, June 9.—The supply of Wheat to-day was quite equal to the demand, prices of Red, 53*s.* to 59*s.*; White to 62*s.*; Barley, may be considered nominal; Oats, 28*s.* to 31*s.*; Beans, 43*s.* to 48*s.*; Pease, 44*s.* to 48*s.* Boilers, to 50*s.* per quarter; and Flour, 42*s.* to 44*s.* per sack.

Reading, June 9.—From the remarks made by Lord Goderich, in the House on Thursday night, a pretty general expectation existed in our market this day, that it is his Lordship's intention on the bringing up of the Report of the Corn Bill from the Committee, to move, that the Duke of Wellington's Resolution raising the average be expunged—and as proxies can be used in the House, which is not the case when their Lordships go into a Committee, a majority, it is supposed, will be in favour of the Corn Bill, as it stood before amended by the Noble Duke; under this uncertainty, very little business was transacted in our market, and prices of all Grain must be called nominally as on this day se'nnight.

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Horncastle, June 9.—Beef, 9s. per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton, 6d. to 7d.; Lamb 7d. to 8d.; and Veal, from 7d. to 8d. per lb.

Manchester Smithfield Market, June 6.—To this day's market we had an abundant supply of Sheep and Lambs, but of Beasts, Calves, and Pigs, the quantity was short. Mutton and Lamb have declined full $\frac{1}{4}$ d per lb. since this day week. In Beef, Veal, and Pork, no alteration.—Beef, 5d. to 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Mutton, 7d. to 8d.; Lamb, 7d. to 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Veal, 6d. to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; and Pork, 4d. to 5d. per lb., sinking offal.

At *Morpeth Market*, June 6, there was a short supply of Cattle, which met with dull sale, at a reduction in price; there were a good many Sheep, and a very full market of Lambs; good Lambs sold readily, prices rather lower; inferior of the latter not sold.—Beef, from 7s. 3d. to 8s.; Mutton, 7s. 3d. to 9s.; Lamb, 8s. to 9s. per stone, sinking offal.

Norwich Castle Meadow, June 9.—We had only a very small supply of fat Cattle to this day's market, prices 8s. to 9s. per stone of 14 lbs., sinking offal: the supply of Store Stock was very large; Scots, 4s. to 4s. 6d. per stone of what they will weigh when fat; Shorthorns, 3s. to 3s. 6d.; Cows and Calves selling rather better; Homebreds, of one and two-years old, a flat sale; the supply of Sheep was exceedingly large.—Meat: Beef, 7d. to 9d.; Veal, 6d. to 8d.; Mutton, 6d. to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Lamb, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; and Pork, 6d. to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

VOL. 62.—No. 13.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 23, 1827. [Price 6d.



"Here, then, in THE TAXES is the real cause of the necessity of high prices. It is the Government, and not the farmer, who stands in need of high-priced corn. Oh ! ye CORKS and WESTERNS, be not ; be not I pray and supplicate you, made the tools of the taxing system. You talk of protection to agriculture ; but, the real tendency of your exertions is, to protect and promote the taxing system. Reduce the taxes of the English farmer and those of his miserable labourers, and then he will grow corn enough without the aid of foreign supply ; and, the manufacturers, eating cheap food, will be able to sell cheaper than the manufacturers of foreign nations ; and, thus, all will thrive together : make corn dear, and all will decline together, except the military and naval and tax-eating part of the community, who will, in the end, obtain a predominance such as they possess in the Austrian, Prussian, Russian, and German dominions, and English freedom ; and English manners and English tastes will take their flight for ever to the other side of the Atlantic. A Corn Bill would be no protection to the farmer, and, in the end, none to the land-owner : what it gave in prohibition, it would take away in tax, and give it to the tax-eating tribe. For these reasons I, who am a farmer by taste as well as in fact, detest and abhor, from the very bottom of my soul, the idea of any measure tending to raise or keep up the price of corn ; and, if there be but one man in all England found to petition against such a measure, I, William Cobbett, will be that man."—POLITICAL REGISTER, 28th January, 1815.

CORN BILL.

TO THE

REFORMERS OF BOLTON.

Fleet Street, 20th June, 1827.

MY FRIENDS,

IN the way of thanks or acknowledgment for the excellent petition and proceedings at Bolton, a few days ago, and which do you all such great honour, and show

you to be so much superior in point of mind to the far greater part of those who affect to look down on you with contempt, but who hate you because they fear the final effects of that real superiority which they perceive you

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Printed and Published by WILLIAM COBBETT, No. 183, Fleet-street.
[ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.]

to passces ; in the way of acknowledgment for that petition and those proceedings, which entitle you to the thanks of the whole nation, I address to you this present set of remarks on the corn projects and disputes recently carried on and still carrying on in the two Houses of Parliament.

Before I proceed to these remarks, let me beg you, first of all, to look at the motto which I have prefixed to this paper. You will perceive that it was written a little while before the first Corn Bill was passed. The truths which it contains, need not be particularly pointed out to you ; but, it may not be amiss that I now remind you, who were men at that time, and that I inform those of you who were then but boys, of certain transactions which took place during the progress of that Bill. From the time that the Bill was first brought into the House of Commons, every exertion that I was able to make was made against it. In these exertions, I was joined by Mr. HUNT ; and, after the

Bill had passed the House of Commons, a meeting, in consequence of a requisition put forth by Mr. HUNT, was presented to the High Sheriff of Wiltshire, to call a meeting of the county to petition the House of Lords not to agree to the Bill.

The High Sheriff, Mr. GEORGE EYRE, called the meeting to be held at the city of Salisbury, on the 8th of March, 1815. At this meeting, a petition, moved by Mr. HUNT, and seconded by me, was agreed to in the following words ; and it was presented to the House of Lords by the late Lord STANHOPE.

“ To the Right Honourable the Lords

“ Spiritual and Temporal of the

“ United Kingdom of Great Britain

“ and Ireland, in Parliament as-

“ sembled.

“ The Petition of the Freeholders,

“ Landholders, Tradesmen, Man-

“ ufacturers, and Inhabitants

" of the County of Wilts; in
" County Meeting assembled.

" Humbly sheweth,

" That your Petitioners, at the
" moment when they were justified
" in expecting to enter on the en-
" joyments of the blessings, usually
" attendant on Peace, to which they
" had so long been strangers, per-
" ceive, with the deepest sorrow,
" that attempts are making to pro-
" long and perpetuate the sufferings
" of War, by enhancing and uphold-
" ing the price of Corn.

" That your Petitioners, seeing, in
" other quarters, political corruption
" and private rapacity so firmly and
" resolutely leagued against them,
" fly with confidence for protection
" to your Lordships, and appeal to
" your noble-mindedness, your jus-
" tice, your humanity, against the
" machinations and violence of this
" unfeeling, this merciless league.

" Your Petitioners, therefore,
" humbly pray, that your Lordships
" will reject any proposition that may
" be made to you to entertain any
" Bill, or other measure, tending to

" diminish, or restrain the importa-
" tion of Corn.

" And your Petitioners shall
" ever pray, &c:

(Signed) " HENRY HUNT,

" WILLIAM COBBETT,

" And by upwards of three thousand
" other persons."

You will, my friends, be dis-
posed to laugh when you read the
second paragraph of this petition,
especially when you duly reflect
upon transactions of a very recent
date. The truth is, the people
laughed at it at the time, and we
laughed at it, too; but it was well
calculated to arrest the progress
of the measure, if feelings of any
sort could have produced such an
effect. It is a truly curious his-
torical document: it is one amongst
a thousand other proofs that he
who would know the true history
of this country for the last twenty-
five years, must look into this
Register of mine.

To the meeting, who agreed to

this petition without one dissenting voice, it was explained, that the landowners who had promoted the Bill wished still to be able to pay the high taxes. It was explained to the meeting, that the landowners of this very county of Wilts had petitioned for a Corn Bill; and had told the Parliament, in that petition, that they were still willing to bear heavy taxes. provided the Government and Parliament would pass a law, the effect of which should be to raise and keep up the price of their corn! That is to say, that, so long as they could have a price which would be a protection to *them* against ruin, they did not care how heavily the loaf was taxed, how cruelly the mass of the people suffered, how much money was squandered away, how large a standing army was kept up in time of peace, how the rights and liberties of the people were dealt with. It was fully explained to this meeting, that the Petitioners for a Corn Bill were foolish, even as to their own interests; and, it

was predicted, in terms most explicit, that the farmer, especially, was not at all interested in a rise in the price of corn; that it was his place-holding, his pension-receiving, his sinecure-swallowing landlord, together with his relations and dependants; that it was these who wanted a high price of corn; because, without that high price, rents and taxes could not be paid to a high amount, and without taxes to a high amount their places, pensions, half-pay, and all the receipts of the tax-eaters, could not be met.

The House of Lords received our petition with a little grumbling; but, I recollect, that Lord Stanhope told them that, though it contained some pretty stinging matter, it was, nevertheless, proper for their Lordships to receive it.

After this, before the Bill was passed, I endeavoured to get a county meeting in Hampshire; but, one BOSANQUET, the same fellow, I believe, who was a Bank director, and who carried the message to Pitt, which message pro-

duced the Order in Council for a Bank-restriction or stoppage in 1797 : this Bosanquet refused to call the county meeting ; and I, as one man in Hampshire, at any rate, resolved to petition myself. On the 17th March, 1815, I drew up a petition in the following words, and sent it to Lord Stanhope to present. The Bill had passed, on the day he got the petition, and before he got down to the House. I insert this petition here, in order that you, my friends, may see, how clear a view I had of the matter from the very beginning. It is not to gratify vanity that I thus insert this petition ; for, it is already well known enough, that I have foreseen every thing relating to the effects of this dreadful system of away. I insert it, in order to show you how culpable those men must be, who despised the statements and advice contained in this petition. They pretend, that no human foresight could have reached so far as to anticipate consequences at a distance of twelve years. Read, my friends, the fourth paragraph of this petition ; and, then, you will see that those consequences could be anticipated by plain common sense ; and, of course, you will judge accordingly, of those who turn their backs upon this advice. Soon after this petition was presented to the Lords, the foolish and fatal Bill was passed ; and, there stands, in the Register of 25th March, 1816, this everlasting record against the deadly principle of all such Bills. I will just add, before I insert this petition, that the county of Wilts is the only county that ever met, in regular county meeting, to petition against this species of infliction upon the people ; that the city of Salisbury is the only city that ever saw such meeting ; and that Mr. HUNT had the honour to call that meeting, or, at least, to originate the requisition in consequence of which it was called by the Sheriff, who behaved upon the occasion with as much impartiality and justice, as the High Sheriff of Norfolk did upon the occasion of

the Equitable Adjustment meeting of 1823. Greater impartiality and justice he could not show; and, when we consider the general conduct of sheriffs, high bailiffs and other such officers, these two gentlemen must be deemed persons worthy of our particular commendation. The following was my petition, as a Hampshire freeholder. I beg you to read the whole of it with attention; but, particularly, the fourth paragraph of it. It is a petition which might be repeated at this moment, with as much propriety as it was put forth in 1815.

To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

"The Petition of WILLIAM CORNUTT, of Botley, in Hampshire, dated on the 17th day of March, 1815.

Humbly Sheweth,

"1. That your Petitioner, on the 10th instant, delivered to the High

"Sheriff of Hampshire, signed by your Petitioner himself, and by five hundred and eighty-one other Inhabitants of the County, many of whom are freeholders, landowners, and land-cultivators, a Requisition in the following words; to wit:—

"2. Sir,—We, the undersigned Freeholders, and other Landholders, Tradesmen and Manufacturers of the County of Southampton, perceiving, that, in various parts of the Kingdom, evil-disposed, or misguided, persons are endeavouring to prevail on the Legislature to impose duties on the Importation of Corn, and being convinced that such a measure would grievously oppress the labouring classes, would be ruinous to Tradesmen and Manufacturers, would, in the end, be injurious to the Growers of Corn and the Owners of Land themselves, and might possibly disturb the peace of his Majesty's Dominions, request that you will be pleased to convene a Meeting of the County on a day as little distant as may be convenient, in order to take into consideration and to discuss the

" propriety of presenting a Petition
 " to the two Houses of Parliament,
 " earnestly praying, That no such
 " measure may be adopted, and
 " also praying for a repeal of laws,
 " hostile to our rights and liberties,
 " passed during the late wars, and
 " for a constitutional Reform in the
 " Commons' House of Parliament.'

" 3. That the said High Sheriff
 " has refused to call such Meeting
 " of the County, and that, therefore,
 " your Petitioner, deeply impressed
 " with the injurious tendency of any
 " law to prohibit, or restrain, the im-
 " portation of Corn, has thus humbly
 " presumed to make his individual
 " appeal to the Wisdom, the Justice,
 " the Humanity of your Lordships.

" 4. That your Petitioner does not
 " presume to be competent to judge
 " of the precise degree in which the
 " Merchants, Traders, and Manu-
 " facturers of this kingdom may be
 " affected by the proposed law; but
 " while common sense tells him, that
 " it must seriously injure these
 " classes of the community, that it
 " must so enhance and uphold the
 " price of shipping, freight, and manu-
 " factured goods, as to transfer the
 " building of ships, the employment

" of ships, the making of goods, to-
 " gether with vast numbers of our
 " best artisans to countries, where
 " the necessaries of life are at a much
 " lower price: while common sense
 " tells him, that to uphold the price
 " of food is to drive from their na-
 " tive country great numbers of per-
 " sons in search of better living on
 " their incomes, leaving their share
 " of the taxes to be paid by those
 " who remain, and that, too, out of
 " diminished means arising from a
 " diminished demand for their pro-
 " duce, their manufactures, and their
 " professional labours; while com-
 " mon sense says this to your Peti-
 " tioner, his own experience, as an
 " owner and cultivator of land, en-
 " ables him to state, with more pre-
 " cision, to your Lordships, the
 " grounds of his conviction, that any
 " law tending to raise, or keep up,
 " the price of Corn, will prove, in
 " the end, to be no benefit, but an
 " injury to the owner and cultivator
 " of the land.

" 5. Your Petitioner is well aware
 " that, unless prices be raised and
 " upheld, it will be impossible for
 " the owners and the cultivators of
 " the land to pay the taxes that will

" exist after the Property Tax shall
 " have ceased; he is well aware,
 " that to ensure them a high price
 " for their Corn is the only means of
 " enabling them to pay these taxes;
 " but, then, he is clearly convinced,
 " that a very large part of those
 " taxes might be dispensed with;
 " that the army and navy, which
 " swallows up so considerable a por-
 " tion of them, might be reduced to
 " the state in which they were pre-
 " vious to the late war, and that the
 " whole of the public expenses (ex-
 " clusive of those attendant on the
 " National Debt) might be reduced
 " to what they then were, namely,
 " to six millions a year; and thus,
 " without raising the price of Corn,
 " the credit, the safety, the honour
 " of the nation, might all be amply
 " provided for and secured.

" 6. For these reasons your Peti-
 " tioner humbly prays, that your
 " Lordships will not pass any law to
 " prohibit, or restrain, the importation
 " of Corn; and, as the nation, once
 " more, happily, sees the days of
 " peace, he also prays for the repeal
 " of all the laws, laying new restric-
 " tions on the Press, passed during
 " the late wars; and, further, he

" most humbly but most earnestly
 " prays and implores your Lordships
 " to take into your early considera-
 " tion that subject, which, in point
 " of real importance, swallows up all
 " others: namely, the state of the
 " Representation of the People in the
 " Commons' House of Parliament.

" And your Petitioner shall
 " ever pray.

" W. COBBETT."

The above petition was, as I
 said before, sent to Lord Stan-
 hope on the 17th of March, 1815.
 The Bill to which it related re-
 ceived the royal assent very
 shortly afterwards; and, under
 this system, with a modification or
 two at different times, we have
 been living from that day to
 this; sometimes in tolerable
 abundance; sometimes, suffering,
 as the Ministers have told us, from
 a surplus of food in one part of
 the kingdom, while actual starva-
 tion has been spreading its ra-
 vages over other parts of the
 kingdom; constantly increasing
 in general poverty and misery;

and, at this very moment, precisely in that state, in that state of depression, embarrassment, turmoil and misery, which is so fully described and so correctly anticipated in the fourth paragraph of the above petition, which was sent, you will observe, to this very House of Lords, before the first Corn-Bill was passed.

There is one thing more, and that thing of great importance, to remind young men of upon this occasion; namely, that almost the whole of the cities and towns in the whole kingdom of England and Wales sent most urgent petitions against this Corn Bill; that, the Bill was brought in by that Mr. ROBINSON who was lately so gay in his descriptions of our *prosperity*; that CASTLEREAGH (who has since cut his own throat at North Cray in Kent) was, at that time, what is called the leader of the Ministerial side of the House; that he said, upon the third reading of the Bill, that he did not care so much about the Bill in itself, but, that, *now that*

there were clamours against it, he should urge its immediate adoption; and, lastly, let it be known to those who do not know it, and let it be remembered by us all, old and young, that this Bill was passed with a great body of troops, with bayonets upon the points of their muskets, drawn up round the Parliament-House; or, at least, round all that part of it which is accessible to the people.

So much for the origin and progress of this law or code of laws and regulations, relative to the importation of corn. I now come to what has recently taken place upon the subject. There has been so much talk; so many stupid statements; such masses of words with such little meaning; such a blundering and such a saying and unsaying; there has been, in short, such a confusion of ideas produced by the debates and the writings about this matter, that it seems necessary to say something in the way of explanation as to the very nature of the thing. We all know that, some

time ago, a new Corn Bill was passed by the House of Commons and sent to the Lords. We all know that this new Bill has been knocked in the head by an amendment of Wellington (whose titular name is quite long enough, without any thing more), which was made in the House of Lords about ten days ago. I shall speak by-and-bye of the third Bill, which, it appears, is now coming on in the House of Commons; but, at present, let me speak of the new Corn Bill and the old Corn Bill.

According to the old Corn Bill, wheat (we will speak of wheat alone, in order to render the explanation more simple) might, at any time, be brought into our ports from abroad, and warehoused; but, not brought into the market to be sold, unless the average price of English wheat in the market were below a certain price. According to the new Corn Bill, foreign wheat might not only be brought into her ports and warehoused at any time, but might also be brought into the market

and sold at any time; but, then, observe, it was, according to the new Corn Bill, to pay a duty, which duty was to be in an inverse proportion to the price of English wheat in the market. The old Corn Bill was a system of prohibition; the new Corn Bill was a system of heavy duties. The latter, so very high were the duties, was pretty nearly as effectual as the former, for the purpose of keeping out foreign wheat; but, still, it was not a positive prohibition; wheat might be constantly coming in at some rate or other; and, in certain cases, the new Bill would have lowered the price of the produce of the English farms, and have lessened the capacity of the farmers to pay high rents.

Now, I beg you to pay attention to the amendment proposed by Wellington, by which amendment this new Bill was defeated. I have spoken, above, about warehousing; and, it is right that you understand clearly the nature of this curious affair. There are cer-

mous warehouses in the ports for the holding of goods, until the importers of them choose to take them out and pay the duty upon them. All is TICK, in this our ticking, trusting, accommodating, discounting, speculating and the devil-knows-what-besides system. Formerly, the merchant, when his cargo came into port, went and received it, put it into his own storehouse, and paid the duty upon it, whatever it might be. This was the way of going on, when London acquired, throughout the world, such a reputation for the riches and integrity of her merchants. Pitt, who appears to have been the father of postponement in payments, hatched a system of giving credit, or, rather, opened a sort of national pawn-shop for merchants' goods. He built immense warehouses, into which merchants might put their cargoes, which remained thus locked up by the Government, till the merchants were able and willing to pay the duties upon the cargoes, so that the importer, having first, perhaps, given

bills, as they are called; that is to say, gone on TICK for the cargo, next put the cargo in pawn for the duty; then, when he found a customer or could get his price, went on tick again to raise money to pay the duties; then took the cargo out of pawn; then sold the cargo, and, perhaps, got something by it, after paying the bills that he had drawn for the purchase of the cargo and after paying the duties; and thus, had a gain, upon the whole, without ever having possessed, of his own, one farthing of money from the beginning.

Such is the warehousing or pawning system of commerce. Now, wheat, as we have seen, might be pawned to the Government in this way, under the new Bill as well as under the old Bill; but there was this difference, that, under the old Bill, it could never be taken out of pawn to be brought into the English market, until the average price of English wheat in the market was at a certain high amount; while, under the new Bill, wheat might be taken out of

pawn at any time, upon paying the duty fixed by the Bill.

The amendment of WELLINGTON was this, that wheat *should not be taken out of pawn under the new Bill*, until the average price of wheat in the English market should be sixty-six shillings the quarter! This, as you will clearly see, quite destroyed the principle and object of the new Bill. This Bill was to put an end to *prohibition*, and to substitute duties instead thereof. The Lords persevered in this amendment, and the Bill was, of course, put an end to. It must have been put an end to if they persevered in the amendment, because it has long been an invariable rule for t'other place to suffer no alterations to be made by the Lords in a money-bill; and this was a money-bill, because it treated of duties; and, in fact, it did treat of a tax upon our bread. There has been a queer sort of *understanding* going on between the Ministers and the opposing Lords upon this occasion. The

opposing Lords were in difficulty; for, the leading men amongst them are those who were in the ministry before the late change; and they had all approved of the bringing in of the new Bill. How were they to contrive, then, to defeat this same Bill! WELLINGTON has been represented by Mr. CANNING as having been induced by others to move and persevere in the amendment. I see no reason for asserting this. He was one of the Ministers that approved of the new Bill being brought in; and, when the new Bill had passed the Commons, without any alteration in the warehousing or pawning part of it, without the introduction of any clause to take away the power of pawning or the taking out of pawn, how was Wellington to find an excuse for this amendment, which totally changed the nature of the Bill; which made it a Bill of prohibitions as well as a Bill of duties?

This great captain, who appears to be as skillful in corn tac-

tics as he is held to be in those of a military cast, got, some how or other, into a correspondence with our free-trade Minister, Mr. HUSKISSON, whom Lord LAUDERDALE has asserted to be the real papa of this new Bill, though Mr. CANNING did positively assert that it was a sort of legacy of Lord LIVERPOOL, a sort of orphan, which had dropped, as it were, from his Lordship, into the hands of this our new First Lord of the Treasury. Into a correspondence with this our free-trade Minister, the Duke of Wellington, some how or other, did get; and, there, in the columns of the broad sheet, we behold, "My dear Huskisson" and "My dear Duke," to a whole string of letters, making, all together, perhaps, a foot or eighteen inches in length of the said columns. From this correspondence it appears that Mr. Huskisson expressed his opinion that any alteration in the Bill at all; at least, that any amendment at all resembling that of the Duke, would cause the total loss of the Bill.

But, at the same time, it is very clear that Mr. Huskisson did furnish the Duke with a pretext, and, perhaps, it may be called a pretty fair ground for proposing some such amendment as that which he did propose. The passage in Mr. Huskisson's letter to which I allude is this:—"Had your proposal been that no corn bonded after the passing of the present Bill should be allowed to be entered for home consumption till the average price had reached 66s., and that thenceforward all corn so bonded, or thereafter imported, should come under the regulations of the Bill, individually I should not object to such a proviso. It would ensure that no quantity beyond that now in bond should be thrown upon the market, unless, in spite of that quantity, the price reached a level which might fairly be taken as an indication of our being in want of a further supply from abroad."

Here Huskisson clearly gives his assent to the Duke's amend-

ment, as far as related to all corn that should be brought into the country and warehoused after the passing of the Bill. He gives his assent to the prohibition system, to the extent of sixty-six shillings a quarter, as far as relates to all corn, not in warehouse before the Bill should be passed. So that, if the Duke had modelled his amendment upon Huskisson's plan, all the wheat *now in warehouse*, now in pawn, might have been taken out of pawn, upon paying the duty; but all wheat taken into pawn after the passing of the Bill, must, just as in the case of the old Bill, have been kept in pawn, or, at least, not suffered to be brought out of pawn into the English market until English wheat rose to the average of 66s. The Duke's amendment differed from Huskisson's assent in this; that, Huskisson wished to let the corn now in pawn out into the market upon paying a duty, but wished to subject all corn brought into pawn in future to the prohibitory regulations of

the old Bill, as far, at least, as the price of 66s.; while the Duke's amendment subjected the corn now in pawn, as well as the corn to come into pawn, to the same prohibitory regulation. Huskisson assented to the destruction of the principle of the Bill as far as related to the corn now in pawn: the Duke's amendment destroyed the principle altogether, for time present as well as for time to come.

Thus stood the matter, when the Bill was abandoned in the House of Lords. Next comes Mr. CANNING again to the House of Commons, with a project for patching up the matter for the present. But, before we speak of that project, we must see a little of Mr. BARING's description of the effect which the amendment of Wellington would have had if the Bill had been passed with that amendment in it. These observations of Baring are very well worthy of attention. They show to what extent ignorance has operated upon this occasion. I beg the reader to pay

attention to the parts which I have marked in italics. It will be observed, that Mr. Baring here shows very clearly, that the amendment would have caused the corn to be warehoused in countries on the other side of the channel; so that, as the learned Duke's amendment shut out no corn, and was to have effect upon no corn, except that which was in warehouse here in England, the amendment would have had no effect at all upon corn warehoused on the other side of the channel, and would, in fact, have kept out of the market, no corn, except that which is now in pawn in England! I beg the reader, now, to pay attention to Baring's words; for, as we shall presently see, they give a precious cut, either at the sense or the sincerity, of our Minister of trade.

"If the Right Honourable Member for Oxford could think that such an Amendment was introduced from a sincere desire to promote the object without injuring

"the principle of the Bill, he could only say, that his credulity was equal to his candour; for he (Mr. Baring) could hardly conceive how any persons with common sense, who were really friendly to the principle and object of the Bill, could have proposed such an Amendment, especially if they knew what would be the fate of the Bill, which they must have done, as it was to be presumed that they were acquainted with the privileges of the House of Commons, and with their own privileges. The effect of the Amendment was to throw the whole of the Corn Trade of the country into a state of total uncertainty and confusion. He thought the Right Honourable Gentleman himself ought to have said a few words on the nature, object, and effects of the Amendment. Could any one show that the Amendment was good for any thing except to throw the Corn Trade into the hands of foreigners? If the object was to give a preference to the corn directly imported, over the corn in bond, that plan would not have the slightest effect in protecting the

"agriculture of this country; and if
 "it had not that object, it had no
 "object whatever, unless that of
 "destroying the Bill. It could not
 "surely have been intended to injure
 "our own shipping, and to throw the
 "whole of the Corn Trade into the
 "hands of foreigners; and if that
 "was not the purpose, what could it
 "be, except to get rid of the Bill?
 "He repeated, that as a protection
 "to agriculture, the Amendment
 "was the most absurd and inoperative
 "that could possibly be conceived; for
 "Corn would be warehoused at the
 "Hans Towns and Flemish ports, and
 "would come into competition with
 "the home growers to the full as much
 "as if it were warehoused at home.
 "He ought to apologize to the Com-
 "mittee for taking up their time
 "with such an Amendment as this;
 "but every one must be perfectly
 "aware, that foreign Corn might be
 "easily warehoused at Flushing and
 "other parts of the opposite Conti-
 "nent, and readily poured into this
 "country. Some gentlemen seemed
 "to be of opinion, that these foreign
 "ports were at an extraordinary
 "distance, while some of them were
 "not much further from Mark-lane

"than Boston or Lynn.—Parliament
 "could have given no greater boon
 "to foreigners than by passing this
 "Bill in the shape in which it stood
 "after the Amendment. Foreign
 "Corn would still have flowed in
 "abundantly, when the averages
 "would have permitted; but *all the*
 "*benefits of the warehousing system*
 "*would have been transferred abroad.*
 "There would have been one differ-
 "ence, which he believed had not
 "suggested itself to the sagacious
 "inventors of this beautiful Amend-
 "ment; namely, that while foreign
 "Corn would have come in at low
 "prices with as much facility as
 "ever, if unfortunately the home
 "price had risen to 99s. or 100s. in
 "consequence of the scarcity result-
 "ing from a deficient harvest, this
 "country would then have found
 "itself entirely at the mercy of those
 "foreign countries, where the ports
 "were situated in which the Corn
 "had been warehoused [hear, hear!],
 "and from which the supply neces-
 "sary to our subsistence might in a
 "moment be cut off [cheers]."
 —

This is a very good cutting at
 the Lords; but, Baring does not

appear to have perceived that he was, at the same time, cutting as hardly upon his Right Honourable Friend, the free-trade Minister; for, he, good man, he, wise Trade-Minister, would have had no objection to imposing the Duke's prohibition upon corn taken into pawn after the passing of the Bill, which, as Baring tells us, would have caused the corn to be bonded on the other side of the channel, would have afforded no protection whatever to English agriculture, and would have thrown the profits of the foreign corn-trade wholly into the hands of foreigners, and taken it away from English merchants. And, this really does appear to be the case; for, as Baring observed, the ports on the other side of the channel are as near to us as those of Boston or Lynn, requiring a very few hours to order shipments thence into the Thames, into which the wheat might have been brought, and thrown into the English market at any time; and, thus, the Duke's amendment, while

it would have kept the corn now in pawn from coming into the English market, would have kept all future corn out of pawn, and have kept the market constantly open to receive it; because, as you will perceive, my friends, when the merchant brings in corn, he is not, under the new Bill, *compelled to put it in pawn*: he may, upon paying the duty, sell it, at once, out of the ship. According to the old law, no wheat could be brought into the market at all, until English wheat rose to a certain price: according to the new Bill, foreign wheat may be brought into the English market at any time, upon paying a certain duty: if not put into pawn it would not have been affected by the Duke's amendment; so that, if the Bill had passed with that amendment in it, it would have produced all the absurd and mischievous effects which Baring describes; and, if it had been passed, with the amendment suggested by Huskisson, it would have been

But a very little better: it would not, indeed, have kept the corn at present in pawn still in pawn, while other corn was brought from warehouses abroad to be sold here; but, even our Trade-Minister's own project would have caused the corn to be warehoused on the other side of the channel, and would have produced all the mischiefs which Baring has enumerated.

So much for the past: now let us see what appears to be at present intended. Mr. Canning is about to bring in another Bill, for the mere temporary purpose of suffering the corn, **NOW IN PAWN**, to be brought into the market and sold upon payment of the duties specified in the new Bill. There are, they say, about half a million of quarters of wheat, besides other grain and meal and flour. This is to come into the market, if the owners choose to bring it into the market before the first day of May next.

✓ This is the new, the last, or, rather, the present, piece of patch-

work. This will hardly have much effect upon the price of corn; but, it will do something; and it is not very likely that the Lords will make much of a stand against this Bill. What they dislike is, *open ports*, let the duty be what it may. There is a deep-rooted prejudice with the land-owners in favour of *prohibition*. They dread the idea of a competition with countries who are untaxed, comparatively, and untithed. Instinct, almost without the smallest assistance from reason, teaches them that the Jews and jobbers must have their last acre, unless they can get a high price for the produce of the land. They are the real sellers of the corn and the cattle. The farmer has no interest in having a high price; seeing that his rent, his tithes, and all his outgoings, are in proportion to the price of his produce. But, the landlord has a direct and great interest in getting high rent, which he cannot do unless there be a high price of produce. He, therefore, it is, that wants the high price; and

high price he must have, unless he give up his estate to the Jews and jobbers, or unless he obtain the taking off of more than one half of the taxes. He is frightened at the idea of either of these: he is shocked at the thought of sweeping the streets or cracking stones on the high-way. He would take off the taxes, with all his heart; but, when he comes to call the roll of his relations and dependents, he finds that if the taxes were reduced, these would all fall back upon him like so many paupers. Besides, there is, perhaps, his own place, his own pension, his wife's sinecure, his own half-pay or something else, or his half-dozen sons quartered upon the taxes in some way or other. There must be money to pay the interest of the Debt. Sweep away the taxes, and the interest is unpaid. He cannot continue to eat taxes while the fund-holder is torn from the crib. Turn him which way he will, he finds himself beset with difficulties. So I have seen, after a shower, a mischievous, greedy,

reptile of a slug, surrounded, for one's amusement, by a circle of warm lime, two or three inches in diameter. The reptile advances towards the circumference, pokes out his horns and his nose; just touches the lime; round he turns; pokes away towards another part of the circumference; finds the lime again there; back he twists, making a similar effort in another quarter; and, thus he goes on, till the gardener, having had enough of his torments, and remembering his character and the extent of his devastations, takes a crumb of the lime, puts it upon his back, and the nasty, slothful reptile, made, apparently, to devour the labour of others, made, sometimes black and sometimes white, sometimes yellow and sometimes grey, but always the same devouring monster; till the gardener, remembering his devastations, thus puts the consuming material upon his worthless carcass, and sees him curl up and expire.

Beset with difficulties as completely as a slug so surrounded,

are the landowners, not many years since so insolent, so cruel, so savage towards the common people of England. They are not so insolent as they were. Poverty, and fear for the future, have taught them humility to a certain degree; but, that they may be taught to do complete justice to the people; that the rest of us, like you, my friends, may never cease our efforts, till we have obtained from them every particle of that which they unjustly withhold, is the prayer and the hope of

Your faithful friend and

Most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

PAPER - MONEY.

I AM compelled to postpone some remarks that I intended to make on what took place on

Thursday last, 15th June, on the motion of Mr. DAVENPORT. Some very curious things were said, by Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, on this paper-matter. This is the rock, on which the THING will split. Corn Bills are trifles, compared with this affair.

BANKS BREAKING!

OR

ANOTHER "LATE PANIC."

WE shall certainly have famous sport in a short time. I have been told, that even the stopping of the pitiful paper shop at HUNTINGDON, which was a drop of water, compared to the Thames, almost frightened an OLD FEMALE FRIEND of mine out of her senses. I am told that she was actually beset

for two or three days; I mean haunted by a sort of craving Devils that seem to threaten to tear out her very bowels. If this be true, and I believe it is strictly true, she will begin to look about her pretty sharply, and DADDY CANNING (for he is now upon the list of my *Daddies*, along with COKE and BURDETT) may begin to look sharply about him. I always thought him just the man to bring this thing to a close. The *Bank Circular* was, to me, clear indication of what was coming. Some means or other will be resorted to, with the intention and anxious desire of preventing the Country Banks from blowing up the Mother Bank, and from producing *Parliamentary Reform*; for this is the way, my boys, in which reform will come, and in no other way, as God has given it to man to produce that reform. This

being the case, I rejoice exceedingly at the breaking up of any bank, however small it may be. The newspapers give an account of another recent bank-breaking in Staffordshire. Thus the thing began last time; and, the same sort of panic must come again, before it be long, with a great addition of force and of mischief, *unless the Winchester bushel of wheat come down to five shillings at most*. I desire my readers to bear this in mind; and, especially if they have children, or any other persons, particularly helpless persons, to provide for, let them act as reason dictates to them, or let them, I say, suffer half starvation at least, with bundles of "WORTHLESS RAGS" in their pockets.

TO THE
EARL OF WESTMORELAND.

Fleet-Street, 21st June, 1827.

MY LORD,

I INTENDED to do myself the honour of addressing a Letter to your Lordship, pointing out a mode of shoving out Mr. CANNING and his motley tribe; and also a mode of preserving the estates of the landowners, or at least a part of those estates. I have been induced to defer the execution of my purpose, by the *events*, which have come pressing upon us for the last two weeks; and now other *events* seem to be pushing on, and they appear to be of a nature calculated to decide the whole thing at a single blow. Corn, that is to say wheat (not measured by the beating of a pendulum), must come to 5s. a bushel at least; or, another

"late panic" is approaching. I hear from all parts of the country, that which convinces me of this; and that which I see going forward in London convinces me, that every effort will be made to protect the general paper concern against the natural panic-producing progress of the country banks. These efforts, my Lord, though of various descriptions, and, apparently, working in ways very different from each other, or intended so to work, have all, evidently *one and the same tendency*; namely, to make the whole of the currency of the country consist of what will, in reality, be a GOVERNMENT PAPER-MONEY! That is the last stroke, my Lord; and under that stroke the system will linger but a very short space of time; and during that time, short as it will be, the great question

must be settled; namely, whether things shall be righted by a Radical Reform of the People's House of Parliament, or the whole fabric go to pieces, amidst a general convulsion; if the latter take place, I am not bold enough to attempt to describe, what I think will be the consequences: if the former take place, it will immediately produce that "Equitable Adjustment" prayed for in the NORFOLK PETITION, which will once more give safety to property, and liberty and happiness to the people; and therefore, that it may take place, is, notwithstanding all the treatment that I have received from the landowners, the parsons and their subalterns, the sincere prayer of,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient and

Most humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. My Lord,—So many things have happened of late, to make me rather out of conceit with a certain august assembly, that I really feel happy at having an opportunity to notice a circumstance which has had a contrary effect upon my mind. I allude to the throwing out of the DROXFORD INCLOSURE BILL, by your Lordships' House, after the said Bill had been passed by the House of Commons. This Bill would have destroyed the very best nursery for OAK TIMBER, that I ever saw in my life. The nature of the soil, is that of the *Wealds* of Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, so famous in the annals of the navy of England: it would have robbed the Crown of a part of its rights by alienating for ever a part of the revenue of the See of Winchester; and, a thing to be deprecated by every

man with a heart in his bosom, it would have chased, pretty nearly, if not quite, a *thousand* persons from the happiest cottages, that yet remain in England, and have driven them to sink and starve in the beggarly skirts of towns and villages; and all this, my Lord, solely to gratify the stupid greediness of a dozen or two of that description of persons, on whom GOD himself has denounced vengeance for their desire to "lay house to house, and field to field, until the poor and needy be driven from the land." It is curious enough, my Lord, that, in the close of the First Number of my Work, called the Woodlands, and in the beginning of the Second Number (not yet published), I noticed this very spot as one of the finest in England, for the growth of Oak Timber; and,

during my Rural Ride of last fall, I noticed the surprising growth of two of the spots of this Forest, or *Chase*, as it is called, which spots had been inclosed twenty-five years ago, by the late Bishop, and which had been, agreeably to the old law, thrown out as grazing land again at the end of *twenty years*. I saw these inclosures about three years after they were made. There were then no signs of timber growing within these inclosures. When I saw them last fall, there were thousands upon thousands of *Oak* trees, as big round in the butt as my thigh is big round in the middle (and nature has not made it very small); and thousands upon thousands not much less than *thirty* feet high. Would it not have been a murderous act to have broken up this ancient *Chase*, to have destroyed this nur-

sery of Oak trees, so near to a naval arsenal? It has not been done. The greedy applicants have not been gratified; the good of the nation, the rights of his Majesty, and the happiness of the poor have been consulted on this occasion; and it is with great pleasure that I acknowledge, for myself, and that I proclaim to others as far as my voice will reach, that we owe this act of protection to the House of Lords.

TULIP-TREE WOOD.

I HAVE for sale *fifty-four* planks of this wood, averaging about *thirty feet* in each plank. They are *two and a half inches* thick. Some are about fourteen feet long; others not, probably, more than ten feet. Some are between *three*

and *four feet* wide; others not, perhaps, more than two feet. The planks are just as wide at one end as at the other; and there is not a single knot, or curl, in the whole parcel of *one thousand, five hundred and eighty-one feet*.

MICHAUX, in his North American Sylva, says of the tree, that he saw one *twenty-two feet six inches* in circumference, at five feet from the ground; and that he judged the tree to be a *hundred and forty feet* high. Of the WOOD Michaux says what every body in America knows; namely, that it is in colour of a pale yellow; that its grain is very fine; that the wood is both *light* and *strong*; that it is used in rafters, shingles, door-panels, bedsteads, wainscoting, chair-bottoms, large bowls, and particularly, in all parts of America, in making the *panels of coaches*

and other pleasure carriages; and, so much is this the case, that it is carried hundreds of miles to be used in those places, near to which it does not grow.

The wood admits of a *beautiful polish*, and is used for various purposes by cabinet-makers. Of these planks that I have, a single plank would make a kitchen-dresser, or table; a servants'-hall table; a slab for a dairy or a larder; fine things, I should think, for cutting-boards, shop-boards, counters, show-boards, or almost any thing, which requires a very large breadth of wood in one single, smooth piece. Being $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, these planks are strong enough for any thing.

The price for the whole parcel, **ONE SHILLING and THREE-PENCE A FOOT**; for any quantity less than the whole, and exceeding a hundred feet, **ONE**

SHILLING AND SIXPENCE A FOOT; and for a *single plank*, **ONE SHILLING AND NINE-PENCE A FOOT**. So that a plank, 14 feet long, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, which, with a couple of trestles, would make a table to dine *twenty people*, would cost only *four pounds five shillings*; it might be kept as clean as a marble slab, and with nearly as little trouble, and would last for many a life-time.

The planks are at *my house at Kensington*, where they may be seen, by *application to the gardener*, at any hour between four in the morning and five in the afternoon. There is the *mark* on each plank, expressing the *number of feet* which it contains. The marks were put on in America, and, therefore, are according to our old-fashioned English *kingly* measure, and not according to the grand and

sublime "IMPERIAL MEASURE," which, being an "improvement of the age," produced by "liberal principles," the offspring of the "march of mind," gauges (in defiance of Bedlam) ale, meters oysters, and ascertains the length and width of shirting, by the "beat of a pendulum in a

"heat of sixty-two degrees of Farenheit's Thermometer"!

N.B. I have now but little more than half the above quantity left; Gentlemen, who may wish either to see it or purchase it, must therefore be speedy in their applications.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending June 8.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat ..	57	11	Rye	41	11
Barley ..	40	0	Beans ...	49	6
Oats	28	8	Pease ...	50	0

Total Quantity of Corn returned as Sold in the Maritime Districts, for the week ended June 8.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	30,412	Rye	161
Barley ..	3,151	Beans ...	772
Oats ...	6,904	Pease	66

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, June 9.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat..	5,364	for 16,208	6	10	Average,	60	5
Barley..	617	.. 1,316	14	10	.....	42	7
Oats..	1,287	.. 2,141	3	5	.....	33	3
Rye....	0	.. 0	0	0	.....	0	0
Beans..	488	.. 1,213	19	10	.....	49	9
Pease ..	63	.. 193	13	6	.....	46	8

Friday, June 15.—The arrivals of Grain this week are small, except of Foreign Oats, the quantity of which, reported this week, is excessive. The abandonment of the Corn Bill has occasioned an advance in the price of Wheat since Monday last of 5s. to 6s. per qr. Barley and Beans remain nominally as last reported. There is no alteration in the value of Oats since last report. The top price of Flour is considered as established at 55s. per sack.

Monday, June 18.—The supplies of English Grain in general last week were moderate, and of Foreign Oats the quantity was excessive. Of Flour, coastwise, the arrivals were likewise considerable. To this morning's market the fresh supplies of Corn are small. The loss of the new Corn Bill had a considerable effect on the Wheat trade last Friday, but to-day there is less eagerness in the millers, and although the prices are quoted 4s. to 5s. per quarter higher than last Monday, yet the sales have been very dull to-day, at this advance.

Barley, Beans, and Pease, are each 2s. to 3s. per qr. dearer than this day se'nnight, but the quantities of each are so very small, that the quotations may be considered almost nominal. There are now so many Oats for sale, that only such as are stout and sweet maintain last quotations; Foreign Feed parcels are 1s. to 2s. per quarter lower than this day se'nnight. The top price of Flour is established at 55s. per sack. Nothing now doing in Bonded Corn of any description.

Price on board Ship as under.

Flour, per sack	50s. — 55s.
— Seconds	45s. — 48s.
— North Country ..	44s. — 47s.

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. Loaf is stated at 9d. by the full-priced Bakers.

Account of Wheat, &c. arrived in the Port of London, from June 11 to June 16, both inclusive.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	4,239	Tares	—
Barley ..	1,362	Linseed ..	2,397
Malt	4,626	Rapeseed ..	13
Oats	3,015	Brank ..	49
Beans	301	Mustard ..	—
Flour	8,204	Flax	—
Rye	147	Hemp	—
Pease	669	Seeds	28

Foreign.—Wheat, 6,373; Barley, 5,498; Oats, 63,424; Beans, 2,721 quarters; and Flour 503 barrels.

Price of Hops, per Cwt. in the Borough.

Monday, June 18.—This last week has experienced an advance of duty from 55,000*l.* to 90,000*l.*, owing to the partial improvement round Maidstone; this only lasted two days, as on Saturday and this day the duty is again down to 55,000*l.*, and a further decline likely. The accounts generally state an increase of fly; but the blight must have time to go through its stages, and the probable result will be as decisive as at any period since 1802. It is impossible to state prices in such a market: an advance from Friday last is stated of 20*s.* to 30*s.*

Another Account.

June 18.—In consequence of reports from the Plantations (particularly Essex) of a disappearance of the fly from many grounds, the duty advanced from 55,000*l.* (our last Report) to 90,000*l.*, on Friday last, and with the rise of that, the prices of all sorts of Hops decreased in proportion. On Saturday, accounts arrived, that with the still warm weather which succeeded the cold and north-easterly winds of this day week; and following days, the fly had again made its appearance in increased numbers in all quarters. This morning has confirmed Saturday's report,

as our accounts speak of the blight increasing rapidly in all parts of the Plantations. There is considerable inquiry this morning for Hops, at higher prices. Duty called 50,000*l.*

Maidstone, June 14.—The accounts we receive from the Hop-Plantations are this week rather more favourable, particularly round about this neighbourhood; the fly is considered to be much decreased, and the bines are growing, and look more kindly.—Duty advanced to 70,000*l.*

SMITHFIELD.

Monday, June 18.—This market was lower on Friday for both Beef and Mutton; particularly the former. To-day the trade is by no means lively, the weather and the supply combining against it.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	4	0	to	5 0
Mutton	4	0	—	5 0
Veal	5	0	—	5 8
Pork	5	0	—	5 4
Lamb	5	0	—	6 0

Beasts ..	2,080	Sheep ..	21,210
Calves ...	227	Pigs ...	162

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	8	to	4 8
Mutton	3	4	—	4 4
Veal	3	8	—	5 8
Pork	4	0	—	6 0
Lamb	4	4	—	6 4

LEADENHALL, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef ...	3	8	to	4 10
Mutton ...	3	4	—	4 6
Veal ...	3	8	—	5 4
Pork ...	4	4	—	5 6
Lamb ...	4	0	—	5 8

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS, per Cwt.				
Ox-Nobles.....	0	0	to	0 0
Middlings.....	8	0	—	10 0
Chats.....	3	0	—	6 0
Common Red..	0	0	—	0 0
Onions, 0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.				

BOROUGH, per Ton.				
Ox-Nobles....	3	0	to	8 10
Middlings....	2	0	—	0 0
Chats.....	0	0	—	0 0
Common Red..	3	0	—	0 0

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

<i>Smithfield.</i> —Hay....		90s. to 126s.
Straw...		38s. to 42s.
Clover. 110s. to 150s.		
<i>St. James's.</i> —Hay....		70s. to 140s.
Straw ..		39s. to 49s.
Clover. 120s. to 145s.		
<i>Whitechapel.</i> —Hay....		84s. to 120s.
Straw... 36s. to 42s.		
Clover 100s. to 150s.		

AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN, sold in the Maritime Counties of
England and Wales, for the Week ended June 8, 1827.

	<i>Wheat.</i>		<i>Barley.</i>		<i>Oats.</i>	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
London*.....	59	11	40	3	29	5
Essex	59	3	38	6	28	8
Kent.....	57	3	39	7	32	8
Sussex.....	56	8	34	5	29	10
Suffolk	56	10	39	6	26	8
Cambridgeshire.....	54	6	30	4	24	8
Norfolk	56	6	37	3	29	0
Lincolnshire	56	1	39	8	24	2
Yorkshire	55	11	35	2	28	10
Durham	58	10	42	8	38	4
Northumberland	57	8	38	3	34	6
Cumberland	64	3	43	4	36	5
Westmoreland	64	5	46	0	39	4
Lancashire.....	63	1	0	0	32	2
Cheshire	63	10	45	2	28	0
Gloucestershire.....	56	3	43	4	43	1
Somersetshire	55	10	0	0	28	8
Monmouthshire.....	61	2	44	4	0	0
Devonshire.....	59	7	39	3	32	7
Cornwall.....	64	5	42	1	37	0
Dorsetshire	55	8	40	11	0	0
Hampshire	57	1	39	6	0	0
North Wales	71	5	40	4	29	4
South Wales ...	62	1	45	8	28	0

* The London Average is always that of the Week preceding.

Liverpool, June 14.—Since our last there has been a very limited demand for Wheat, at a reduction of 3d. per 70lbs. For Oats, demand likewise limited, and prices nominal. Indian Corn has become very scarce, and sales have been made at an advance of 3s. per qr. on Yellow, and 2s. on White. In other articles little doing.

Imported into Liverpool, from June 5 to June 11, 1827, inclusive:—Wheat, 10,566; Oats, 3,239; Barley, 4,092; Malt, 50; Beans, 3; Pease, 35 quarters. Oatmeal, 75 packs, per 240 lbs.; Flour, 41 sacks; per 240 lbs.

Derby, June 16.—We had but little business done in the Corn trade this day, owing to the sudden rise which had taken place in London on Wednesday, and the price demanded for Wheat could only be complied with by a few needy customers, and that about 1s. to 2s. per qr. advance.

Horncastle, June 16.—There is very little business doing here in the Corn Trade; the prices something higher.—Wheat, from 57s. to 63s.; Oats, 28s. to 33s.; Beans, 63s. to 66s.; and Rye, from 38s. to 40s. per qr.

Ipswich, June 16.—We had to-day a good supply of Wheat, but no Spring Corn. Considerably higher prices were demanded, and little business was done. Currency as follows:—Wheat, 56s. to 66s. per qr.

Manchester, June 16.—From Monday to Thursday morning the Corn and Flour trade was as dull as possible; scarcely a sale could be effected, particularly after the report of the London market on Monday last had been received here; but, on the receipt of the news that the Duke of Wellington's amendment on the Corn Bill was carried, in the second reading, by a majority of 11, and of Lord Goderich's intention of withdrawing the Bill, it caused the holders of Wheat and Flour to demand higher prices; on the former, of 6d. to 8d. per bushel of 70 lbs.; and on the latter, of 2s. to 3s. per sack of 280 lbs., which advance has been fully supported at our market to-day, with brisk sale at the close. Oats have also improved in value 1d. to 2d. per bushel of 45 lbs., with a good demand. Beans are in short supply, and 1s. per qr. dearer. Boiling Pease, little or no demand. There is more inquiry for fine Malt, but at present it has not undergone any improvement in value, but it is expected it soon will. The sales in Flour have been more extensive since Thursday, at the before-mentioned advance, with a prospect of going still higher, the supply being short, as well as all kinds of Grain. In Barley no alteration.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, June 16.—The overthrow of the Corn Bill in the House of Lords, and a small supply of Wheat from the farmers, caused a rapid sale for fine new threshed samples this morning, at an advance of 3s. per qr. since last week, and granary samples sold proportionally dearer. Rye is 2s. per quarter dearer. Barley is so scarce that it is difficult to quote prices with precision, but it is considerably dearer. Beans and Pease are each 3s. per quarter higher. We had a small supply of Oats from the farmers, which sold readily for mealings at 2s. per quarter advance; but having had some foreign arrivals during the week, and the principal consumers not buying to-day, prices of feed Oats remain the same as last week.

Norwich, June 16.—We had only a small supply of Wheat to this day's market, with a brisk demand, and an advance in price of 3s. per quarter; Red, 56s. to 62s.; White to 64s.; Barley nominal; Oats, 28s. to 31s.; Beans, 43s. to 48s.; Pease, 44s. to 48s.; Boilers, to 50s. per quarter; and Flour, 43s. to 44s. per sack.

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Horncastle, June 16.—Beef, 9s. per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton, 6d. to 7d.; Lamb 7d. to 8d.; and Veal, from 7d. to 8d. per lb.

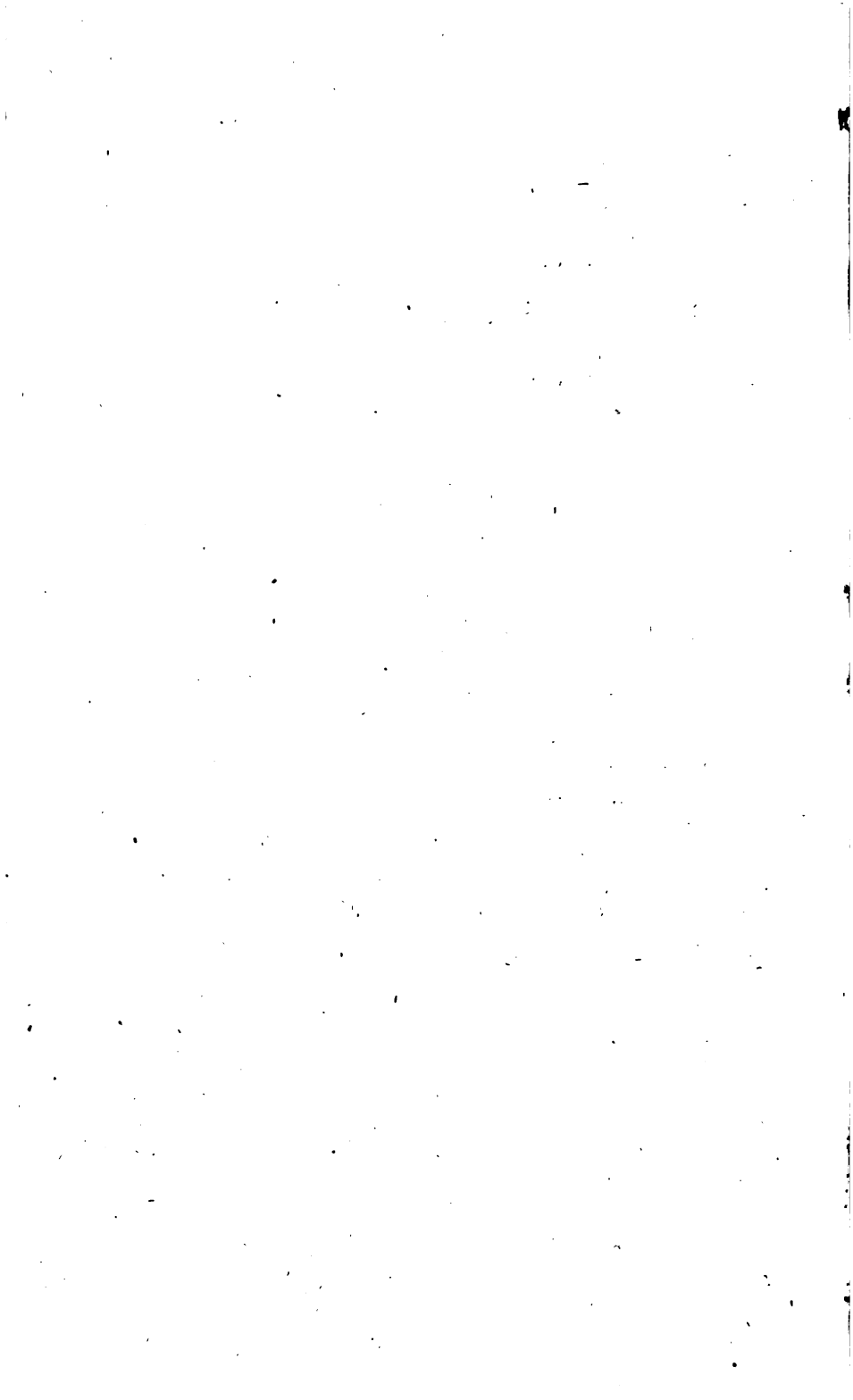
Manchester Smithfield Market, June 13.—The supply of Sheep to this day's market was not so large as for the last two or three weeks, but fully equal to the demand, and the prices may be considered $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. lower than last week. There was a better show of Beasts, but the weather being so warm caused a dullness in the trade, and the price gave way about $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. Lamb in abundant supply; the price declined $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb., at which nearly the whole was cleared off. In Veal and Pork no alteration.—Beef, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 8d.; Mutton, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 8d.; Lamb, 7d. to 8d.; Veal, 6d. to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; and Pork, 4d. to 5d. per lb., sinking offal.

At *Morpeth Market*, June 13, there were a good many Cattle, and a great supply of Sheep and Lambs; although there was a good demand, they met with rather dull sale, at a reduction in price, and part were left unsold.—Beef, 7s. to 7s 9d.; Mutton, 7s. to 8s.; and Lamb, 7s. to 8s. 3d. per stone, sinking offal.

Norwich Castle Meadow, June 16.—The supply of fat Cattle to this day's market was small, prices 8s. to 9s. per stone of 14 lbs., sinking offal; Store Stock of all sorts was in large supply; Scots sold at 4s. to 4s. 6d. per stone of what they will weigh when fat; Shorthorns, 3s. to 3s. 6d.; Cows and Calves, but few good ones here; Homebreds, a flat sale; the show of Sheep was large.—Meat: Beef, 7d. to 9d.; Veal, 6d. to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Mutton, 6d. to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Lamb, 7d.; and Pork, 6d. to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb.

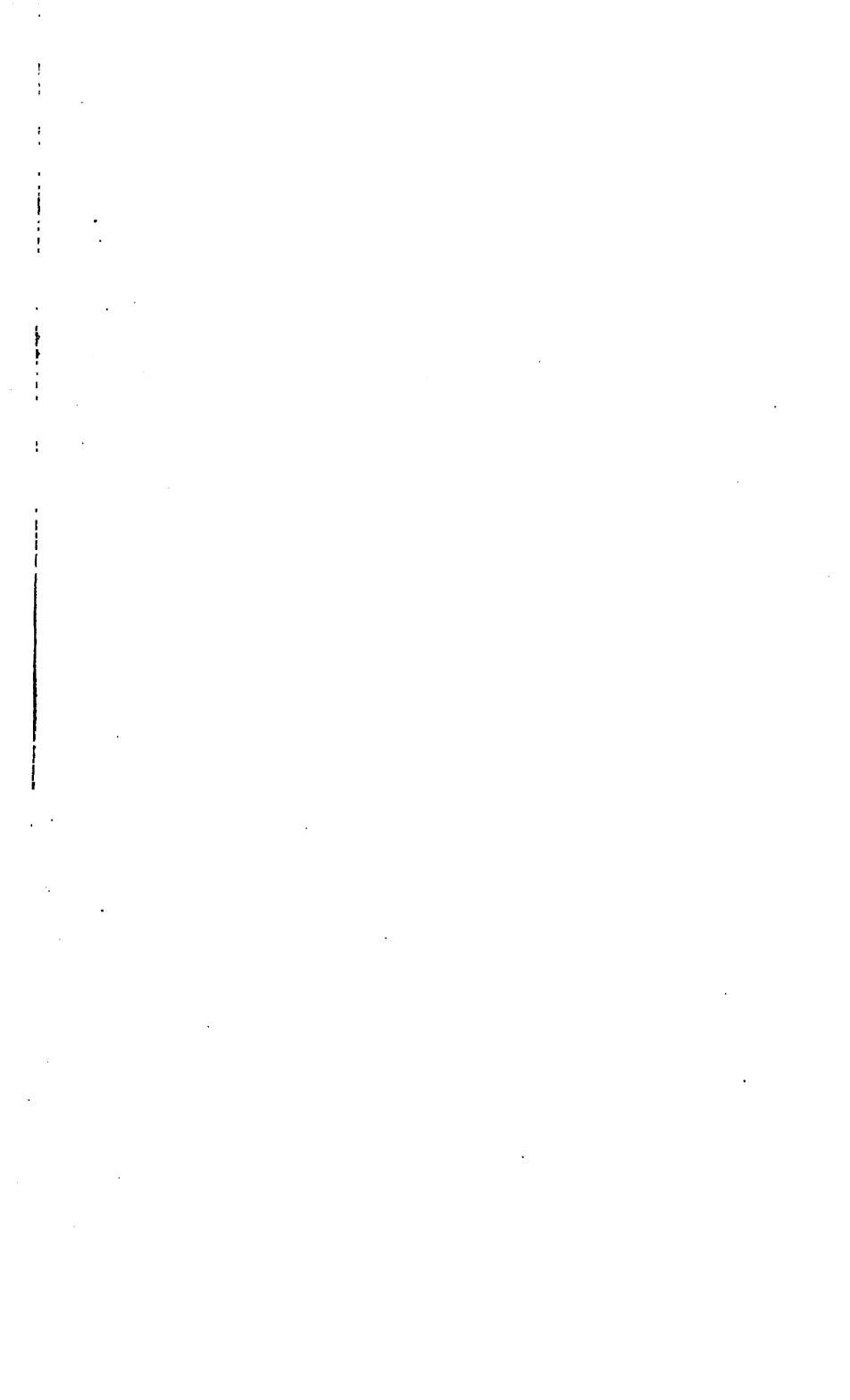
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